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THE CIRCUMSTANCE OR THE SUBSTANCE OF
HISTORY

BEFORE Darwin had inaugurated the revolution of thought that distinguishes the second half of the nineteenth century, historiography had received its modern bent under the influence of Leopold von Ranke. The aim of Ranke's teaching was to put historical investigation upon a sound basis, and his method, which was concerned mainly with the critical scrutiny of sources, was designed to secure a purely objective statement of what had taken place. As much weight has since been laid upon Ranke's insistence on the importance of fact in and for itself, it should be noticed that this attitude is not peculiar to Ranke but is characteristic of his time in other lines of scientific inquiry. When one reads that a certain professor recommended his students "to confine themselves solely to the exposition of positive facts without attempting to draw from them inductions", there is nothing in the advice which would lead one to attribute it to a French naturalist rather than to a German historian. In short, Ranke, by intellectual predilection no less than in point of date, antecedes the period of Darwinian biology.

The change wrought by Darwin was the result neither of a method nor of a new accumulation of facts, but of his presentation of certain ideas designed to explain the manner in which a definite series of facts had come into existence. Linnaeus and Cuvier added much to the store of scientific knowledge, but later biologists have not therefore held that accuracy of statement was the sole purpose of their own labors. Darwin essayed interpretations of a far-reaching character, but the later impeachment of his theories has not lessened the extent of his services to biology or thought in general. This contrast has been lost, to all appearance, upon the historical profession, which is still opposed on principle to generali-

zations, and continues to prefer the circumstance to the substance of history.

It would, however, be disingenuous to imply that this opposition on the part of historians was entirely unreasonable. The expansion of Darwinian ideas came when the new historical method had little more than secured a footing. The older practices of utilizing history as a basis for moral teaching and political advocacy were a serious handicap in the struggle for scientific accuracy. By comparison the biological and physical sciences were entering upon the settlement of a new continent, while history was undertaking the reorganization of an old commonwealth. Hence while the former have pressed forward exhilarated by an ever-widening prospect of unexplored territory, the latter has been confronted by increasing difficulties and defections. In such circumstances it is not surprising that the evolutionary theories should have come as a new menace. The endeavor to supersede the old moral-political practices must have seemed a useless expenditure of effort if these were merely to be replaced by analogies to unverified biological hypotheses. It is not improbable that this sense of danger was a factor in evoking the hostility shown towards such men as Buckle, whose work was described by a notable scholar as "a laborious endeavor to degrade the history of mankind to the level of one of the natural sciences". The result of this phase was an increased distrust of all general ideas as applied to history, and a more restricted belief in the value of fact than was entertained by Ranke himself. Naturally, however, this attitude must be confined to the generations which have been most intimately concerned in the struggle. This ardor for a principle of negation is one that in the very nature of things cannot be awakened in a younger generation, which accepts the method as a matter of course, and finds some difficulty in appreciating the wisdom of saving history from ideas which have stimulated and strengthened other lines of scientific investigation.

It seems evident, indeed, that the older generation has overlooked in its inquiries the parable of a certain house that was found empty, swept, and garnished. This is the very heart of the predicament in which history finds itself to-day. The mind will not long content itself with a point of view that does not yield significant results, and the attempt to protect history from generalizations has led to desertions, usurpations of its territory, and much unconscious or unacknowledged theorizing.

The insistence on an outlook limited to method alone has brought its own answer in the form of a break from the sterility of ideas in the history schools to the ambitious interpretations of the new

"sciences" such as sociology and folk-psychology. The secessionists, carried away by the current of contemporary thought, defend their position by claiming an analogy with the subdivision of the biological sciences. But there is a great difference in political states between setting up an independent authority and adopting a system of local self-government. Canada and Australia are still parts of the British Empire, and the experimenter with sea-urchin's eggs is still a biologist. The sociologist, on the other hand, has established for himself a new imperium, and history is scullion in the house of political science. There is no similarity or resemblance of relation between the spreading branches of the biological tree and these independent sproutings from the roots of history.

But while the secessionists have been drawn into the vortex, the historian himself has not remained unaffected by the current. This influence shows itself directly in the elaboration of arguments to prove that history is a science, and, by reaction, in the undue emphasis that has been placed upon the importance of Ranke, whose name has acquired a value as a countersign quite apart from the merit of his contribution to historical methodology.

The most important effect upon historians of the spread of modern biological ideas has been the incorporation into their vocabulary of the words "evolution" and "development". As a consequence the historian, while believing himself the single-eyed servant of fact, while protesting against generalizations and philosophical interpretations, has come to accept a theory of history without critical examination of its claims. For these words cannot be used in our day as colorless expressions, they are the indices of the thought of the time and have a special import for the present generation. Their admittance implies the belief that history is the record of human progress and improvement. This is assumption, and the more to be guarded against because it has established itself unawares and has been admitted without debate.

The question then that emerges with some definiteness is not whether the historian will persist in an unwavering devotion to the method of Ranke, but whether he will permit himself to adopt unwittingly an evolutionary-sociological view of history, or will consciously accept the task of achieving a standpoint for himself. There is no other alternative.

The modern historian would guard himself against philosophies of history because he is convinced that these begin by assuming conclusions and pursue their speculations in a sphere wholly removed from the world of fact. Conversely he is willing to accept what appear to be the conclusions of biology from the belief that science

proceeds warily and step by step from the known to the unknown. The distrust as well as the belief proceeds from an unconscious recognition of the truth that "we must learn first not what we are most eager to learn, but what fits on best to what we know already." But however science may proceed, quite certainly the uncritical acceptance of analogies drawn from other subjects is *not* recognized as scientific method. Every science makes its own hypotheses, in its own terminology, on the basis of its own material. So while in fear of over much philosophizing the historian has unconsciously taken refuge in general ideas which have established for themselves a popular currency, and through want of a reasonable independence has neglected the scientific approaches to his own subject.

Here it is necessary to make a distinction between the term "evolution" as a popular catchword and the term "organic evolution" as signifying the derivation of all life by gradual modification from some rudimentary form. If the first of these is to be used otherwise than in its biological association such use must first be warranted by an independent generalization, which still remains to be defined and substantiated. On the other hand the biological term can be employed only in explanation of man's origin. For beyond the idea that man has emerged as a result of organic evolution biology has no generalizations to contribute for the elucidation of human history. Theories of environment, heredity, selection, struggle for existence, survival, and variation, all have their place in biological literature, but they may not be taken thence, even for purposes of analogy, until biologists have arrived at a decision as to their validity and application.

Biology is not yet in a position to aid in the solution of historical problems. It does not follow, however, that historians should be oblivious of the means by which the success of biology has been attained. The disposition to accept the working hypotheses of the latter science before they have been fully tested in the light of the facts to which they are specifically related, might lead to desirable results if it but opened the way for the recognition of a similarly productive method in history. In order to arrive at such a method it is necessary first of all to discard the biologically modified words "evolution" and "development", and then to approach history as an independent science capable of mastering its own problems. Furthermore, if history is to make advances it must admit that every conquest of new scientific territory is achieved by virtue of a preliminary hypothesis.

When Darwin began his biological investigations he was confronted by two opposing theories as to the origin of species. One

was relatively modern and derived from the Bible, the other ancient and an inheritance from the Greeks. Before he could proceed further it was necessary for Darwin to decide between the theories of Special Creation and Evolution. Whether right or wrong his choice gave him a tentative standpoint from which the various species appeared in a certain order or relation. The importance of Darwin's choice was derived from the necessity it laid upon him of explaining how species had come into existence by Evolution. Obviously this problem could not arise so long as the facts were observed from the standpoint of the dogma of Special Creation.

Now the modern historian is in a very different position from that in which Darwin found himself, inasmuch as he is not called upon to decide between two inherited explanations. He is in difficulties because he cannot fall back upon the Greeks for inspiration. He is confronted, without alternative, by the Hebraic theory that history is the record of God's dealings with man, and in endeavoring to escape from this teleological interpretation he has either lost himself in philosophical discussion or adopted with Ranke an attitude of nescience.

From any point of view that is possible to-day history is the record of a sequence of changes, and whatever the spirit in which investigation is undertaken the desire behind it is to arrive at an understanding of these transformations. So it has been stated recently by one authority that the object of history is to discover "what are the forces which determine human events and according to what laws do they act", and by another, what are "the laws that bring about the changes we call Progress and Decay, and Development and Degeneracy". Sign-posts such as these are obstacles in the way, they have an air of precision without the reality, they seek to indicate the kind of knowledge historians are most eager to acquire, but do not indicate the means by which it is to be gained. The secret of these laws is not to be caught suddenly either by the employment of the undefined expressions of popular optimism, or the formulation of the immanent idea which is being unfolded in history.

It remains then for the historian, of his own volition, to reach a standpoint such as Darwin found awaiting him in Evolution. This standpoint is not to be secured by defining in advance what it would best suit the historian to know, or by elaborating a philosophical theory of the whence and whither of man. Philosophy will ultimately find use for the results of history; but history requires the aid of philosophy to no greater an extent than does biology. The latter in making the circumstance subserve the substance succeeded

almost at once in clearing itself of philosophical implications—history has not yet been equally fortunate.

The standpoint desired can be reached only from some position already known and defined. While history deals with man's activities from the time he became sufficiently self-conscious to leave memorials of himself recorded in words, nevertheless the biological theory of descent is a presupposition lying behind both history and ethnology. This fact is as important to modern views as the story of Creation to the Hebraic interpretation. But whereas in the latter man emerged from the Garden of Eden to fulfill an expressed destiny, the theory of descent has room for no predictions as to his future course. It can only say that while man is kin to the beasts that perish he differs from them in having attained the status of rational thought. This knowledge is all that may safely be taken over from biology, but it indicates the direction in which the standpoint required for history may be found.

It is not to be assumed, however, that the path so indicated must lead inevitably to the view that "history is nothing but applied psychology." The recent investigation of social-psychology has earned commendation for having called attention to a factor which heretofore has not deliberately been taken into account by historians. Similarly a plea might be made for requiring a knowledge of psychology on the part of biographers; it is evident that such knowledge might be of assistance to the investigator seeking an explanation of the conduct of the individual under discussion, but it is equally evident that even an epileptic might act upon occasion without a paroxysm. If the social-psychological processes of every nation should prove to be identical this knowledge would prove valuable to historians. Social-psychology might then be given a place in the preliminary equipment required of the student, in the same category with palaeography, diplomatics, and the knowledge of languages—but no more than these to be intruded upon the attention of the reader. The proper affiliation of this new science, however, is with psychology, not with history.

The possession of life involves conflict. In this conflict thought has given man so great an advantage that he has been able to free himself from the universal competition with the other species, and has been able in a limited degree to exert control over the exterior conditions of the world in which he lives. The process by which man has utilized his endowment has been the same at all times, for with the first effort of thought there was inaugurated a series of experiments that has not since been interrupted. Confronted by the unknown the only method open to him has been to subject the im-

mediate problem to successive trial solutions. The history of any science is the record of the trial solutions which have been applied to a given series of problems.

The conflict within the species, that is, between men, individually and collectively, has been even more radically modified by the introduction of thought. It has given him superiority over the other animals, but it has at the same time vastly complicated human relationships. It has mitigated the strife direct, but has substituted an unending complexity of words, formulae, and courts. The character of the problem, however, has not affected the manner of dealing with it; so the difficulties arising from the association of men together have also been met with successive experiments. The problems of society, as of chemistry, have been subjected from the first to repeated trial solutions, and in the one case as in the other the results obtained have not always been either satisfactory or conclusive. There is this difference, however, between the two: the chemical experiment may be set aside at the will of the investigator, but the trial solutions of society are continuous. And while the latter are even more tentative and uncertain than the former, yet they have at each moment the same influence on men's lives as though they were permanent. The trial solutions of the problems arising from the association of rational beings take the form of adjustments, which have a certain finality when considered from the point of view of the individual, but regarded historically are essentially impermanent and provisional.

The standpoint required is thus made evident. The history of any science consists of the record of the successive trial solutions which have been applied to its problems; the history of the relationships of men consists of the record of the adjustments which have been attempted. What is to be seen, in the first record preserved in words as in the latest act of Parliament or copy of a newspaper, is adjustment endeavoring to reach a solution of the difficulties created by the association of men together under conditions of thought. Accepting man as a rational animal, that is at the point where biology leaves him, the facts of ethnology and history follow inevitably from his efforts to secure an adjustment of his relationships within the species. This working hypothesis eliminates philosophical teleologies so far as history is concerned; it furnishes a definite theory of causation for the facts of civilization; it involves no presuppositions that are not verifiable by the processes of science.

The psychological basis of the theory of adjustment lies in the fact that thought follows stimulus, that the mind of man has been

made by the difficulties he has encountered. Each problem stirs men to thought and provokes ideas which lead to proposals for the modification of the established order. The acceptance or rejection of these proposals as operative factors in society is a process that may be marked by the unopposed passage of a bill or by a century of conflict. Every new effort in adjustment must necessarily be a compromise between the new ideas and the old order, and however satisfactory this may be for the time the original problem remains to be dealt with, under conditions that grow more complex with each postponement. Utopias are an expression of the desire to achieve a new adjustment by throwing off the encumbrances of the past. In actual existence such immediate revolutions are impossible; historically the inauguration and working out of a distinct type of adjustment is visible in the life of every nation.

The impetus given to biological research by Darwin was derived not from the general theory of descent but from the necessity it created of explaining the factors of organic evolution. So the working value of the theory of adjustment is to be determined by the questions to which it gives rise.

In history civilization is the product of adjustment, as in biology new species are the product of organic evolution; the latter gives rise to new entities, the former to an increasing complexity of activities in an existing species. Judged by the consequences, therefore, the factors of the one cannot provide an adequate explanation of the other. It is not strange, however, that the biological analogy has been enlisted to explain the activities of man, for with but the exception of a single factor his life parallels that of other animals. This may at first sight suggest analogy, but of necessity it leads to the further consideration that the factors common to both man and animals cannot have been the productive agency of civilization. It does not follow by any means that the physical elements of life are to be disregarded, they are the earth in which the tree is rooted. In other words the factors that influence or control the lives of animals are also effective in the life of man, but they do not account for civilization. They are in fact the conditions under which men act, being the conditions of life itself. First of these is the overshadowing fact of the insecurity of life, the instability and insecurity of strength and health; then there is the primal necessity of food and the condition imposed by climate or geographical situation. Other species are equally subject to the same conditions yet they have not produced civilization. From these conditions man, civilized or savage, emperor or maroon, cannot escape; they are the limits within which the game must be played; they are the presuppositions of history.

So the food supply of an army is a condition of its existence, just as the character of the country over which it operates is a condition of its movements.

Between the conditions of life, to which man is subject, and the factors of adjustment there is an evident distinction. The former are permanent while the latter are variable. There is continuity but not evolution in the enduring character of the conditions; there is continuity in the problem but not in the irregular series of experiments that constitute adjustments. At every step in working out an adjustment there have been choices and compromises; the belief in "progress" requires, therefore, the assumption that in the long series of choices it has made the race has been guided by a definite purpose; or, that there is some means of proving that a given nation or people at a given moment has been or is upon the narrow way. Manifestly such views are unscientific and inadmissible. There can be no question of right or wrong, progress or decay, in history; problems have arisen, choices have been made, adjustments have been tried, these, their antecedents and consequents are history. All that can be known historically is that the present status is a result of the adjustments attempted in the past.

The elementary basis of any adjustment between men must be either persuasion or constraint. These two processes have made history, although in societies they are not found in their simple forms. What have been called here the factors of adjustment are the manifestations through which persuasion and constraint have become operative. Thus persuasion takes the form of activities leading to harmony of ideas, and seeks to create a bond of common understanding and belief; while constraint sets up authority and endeavors to secure conformity to its prescriptions.

One of the most notable facts of history is that these activities, which in modern times have become strikingly diverse in appearance, were formerly concentrated under the head of religion. Little by little the universal jurisdiction of the priest has been challenged. As a consequence the function of inducing harmony of emotion by subjecting a community to the influence of the same religious rites has been supplemented by the secular influences of art, music, and literature. The function of securing harmony of ideas by providing an explanation of the origin and purpose of man's life has been supplemented by the secular interpretations of philosophy and science. However seemingly remote from their original manifestation these may now appear, in their service to mankind they remain the same, they are the persuasive factors in the relationships of men.

In varying degrees religion has also endeavored to prevail upon men by the exercise of authority, but, in modern times, constraint in its direct application has become the province of political government. Yet the divorce can hardly be accepted as complete while kings remain heads of national churches, and priests sit as lords spiritual in legislative chambers. It would doubtless be considered an evidence of progress if it could be shown that there had been a consistent replacing of the methods of constraint by those of persuasion. With the elaboration of the latter there has, however, been no relaxation of the former. Constraint as the aggressive factor of adjustment still occupies the more prominent place in history and in men's lives. It has enforced levitical observances and the ordinances of municipalities; it has endeavored to regulate men's conduct on the basis of codes deriving their sanction from a steadily descending series of authorities; it has enlisted the support of every power that could be recruited by the imagination, from the thunderbolts of Jove to the baton of the village constable.

History has in the past regarded events from the standpoint of authority. This limitation is at the root of many of the difficulties by which historians find themselves confronted. It has led to an undue emphasis upon "events" and happenings that are of interest because of their unusual and extraordinary character. The historian, preoccupied in recording the vicissitudes of authorities, has not yet grasped the significance of the processes of which these circumstances are a fragmentary manifestation.

Adjustments however originated put some men in authority over others, and those in power have always endeavored to maintain their position. The motion for new adjustments has proceeded from that part of the community which has been most conscious of some phase of unequal incidence of social burdens, or of an unequal restriction of social opportunity. So far as knowledge admits of saying modern society has achieved no nearer approximation to a solution of the problem than older civilizations; it has learned nevertheless to admit experiment with less hesitation, and gives evidence of recognizing the fact that social unrest is not so much the product of treasonable conspiracy as of an imperfect social adjustment.

History then is the record of man's efforts to secure an adjustment of human relationships. Probably every adjustment attempted so far has been looked upon as a real solution, yet every adjustment when put into operation has but revealed new complexities. Every nation stands historically for a distinct effort to solve the problem.

We are not better than our fathers were but have a greater responsibility. There is no mysterious evolution working for the perfection of the race despite its heedlessness, but it is only by understanding the past that the significance of our own efforts will appear.

FREDERICK J. TEGGART.

THE POLITICAL POLICIES OF CNUT AS KING OF ENGLAND

ON Saint George's day, April 23, 1016, died Ethelred II. Seven months later he was followed to the grave by his warlike son. Edmund Ironside is counted among the English kings, but with doubtful right. In Anglo-Saxon times the monarchy was elective, though a constitutional custom seems to have limited the choice to the most capable member of the royal family. But in this case no real election was ever held. The group of magnates who joined with the citizens of London in proclaiming Edmund represented a faction only.¹ During these same days, perhaps even earlier, another assembly of great respectability containing, as it did, the great lords of the Church met at some point unknown, and, after choosing Cnut as the king of England, repaired to his camp at Southampton to give their pledges of loyalty.² It seems, however, that neither of these elections could have any claim to legality: between the death of Ethelred in April and the accession of Cnut at the following Christmas *gemot*, England had no constitutional ruler. For a few days after the agreement at Olney, Edmund, it is true, was a recognized king, but over a part of the kingdom only. In Northumbria and Mercia Cnut was the ruler, possessing no doubt the complete sovereignty.³ East Anglia and Wessex alone remained to the old dynasty.

To say that the English throne became vacant on the death of Edmund is therefore scarcely correct: East Anglia and Wessex

¹ *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* (London, 1861; Rolls Series, no. 23), A. D. 1016.

² Florence of Worcester's *Chronicle* (London, 1848; Thorpe's edition), I. 173. On the double election, see Freeman, *Norman Conquest* (New York, 1873), vol. I., app., note TT. Freeman gives undue importance to a supposed coronation of Edmund. A coronation could hardly remove a defect in the elective title.

³ Lappenberg and Freeman hold that Cnut, by the agreement at Olney, became the vassal of King Edmund. See Lappenberg, *History of England under the Anglo-Saxon Kings* (London, 1845), II. 192; Freeman, *Norman Conquest*, I. 266. The view is supported by a statement in Wendover's version of Florence of Worcester's *Chronicle*: "corona tamen regni Eadmundo remansit." See Florence of Worcester, I. 178. But Wendover wrote more than a century and a half after the event. Even if a vassal relation had been entered into, it could, in this case, have but little significance, as Edmund was the weaker of the two. The compact of Olney was not, as Freeman would have it, an assertion of Saxon powers, but, as Ramsay has pointed out, "a mere capitulation, thinly veiled". Ramsay, *Foundations of England* (London, 1898), I. 389.

alone were in need of a ruler. In the former region there was a strong Scandinavian element that doubtless could be depended on to declare for Cnut. The only doubtful element in the situation was the attitude of the nobility south of the Thames. But Wessex had suffered invasion and pillage for more than a generation; the old spirit of independence was apparently crushed; no leader of ability came forward to urge the claims of the native ethelings. And across the Thames were the camps of the dreaded host which had come over the sea with Thurkil and Cnut; the Danish fleet still sailed the British seas. Resistance was out of the question; the magnates meekly accepted Cnut's invitation to assemble at his capital city and, at the Christmas *gemot* at London, the Danish claimant received universal recognition as king of all England.⁴

The task that Cnut undertook in the early months of 1017 was one of peculiar difficulty. It must be remembered that his only right was that of the sword; also that at this time England was his only kingdom,⁵ as Denmark was governed by his older brother Harold.⁶ As a landless prince Cnut had invaded England, had wrested large areas from the native line of kings, and now possessed the entire kingdom. Something of a like nature occurred in 1066; but the differences are also notable. William was the lord of a vigorous duchy across the Channel, in which he had a storehouse of energy that was always at his disposal. Cnut had no such advantages: before he seized the Danelaw, he seems to have had no territorial possessions whatever; not till 1019 did he unite the crowns of England and Denmark.

Historians generally appear to believe that in governing his English kingdom Cnut pursued a conscious and well-defined line of action, a system of policies originating early in his reign. He is credited with the purpose of making England the central kingdom of an Anglo-Scandinavian empire,⁷ of governing the kingdom with

⁴ Florence of Worcester, I. 179. With the exception of Florence, the authorities all hold that London was a part of Cnut's Mercian dominion; there can be but small doubt that his headquarters were there. See Ramsay, *Foundations of England*, I. 389. Freeman follows Florence, *Norman Conquest*, I. 266.

⁵ Since the year 1000 the Danish kings had also held the overlordship of the greater part of Norway; it seems probable that Cnut's brother Harold, while refusing to yield any part of Denmark, may have surrendered his Norwegian rights to Cnut; at any rate, the Norse ruler Eric was summoned to assist in the conquest of England. But Eric had scarcely left the earldom before it was seized by a member of the native dynasty.

⁶ Langebek, *Scriptores Rerum Danicarum* (Copenhagen, 1777-1878), II. 479, "Encomium Emmae". The encomiast is probably in error when he speaks of Cnut as the older of the two; Danish custom would not have given the throne to a younger son.

⁷ Freeman, *Norman Conquest*, I. 284.

the aid of Englishmen in preference to that of his own countrymen,⁸ of aiming to rule England as a king of Saxon type. It is true that before the close of his reign Cnut made large use of native chiefs in the administration of the kingdom, but such was not the case in the earlier years, and at no time did the other kingdoms regard themselves as standing in a vassal relation to the English state. Cnut's English policy was not continuous: it changed, and changed radically, as the course of events at home or in the North created new situations or emphasized particular tasks. The evidence is fragmentary and often difficult to interpret; but, such as it is, it seems to indicate three successive policies, each characterizing some particular period in the reign. These periods may be roughly delimited in the following manner: the years from Cnut's accession in 1016 (or 1017) to his return from Denmark as Danish king in 1020; the period from 1021 to the Norse war in 1026; the closing years of the reign, 1027-1035.

I.

Cnut was the son of Sweyn the Viking and in many respects his character bore resemblance to that of his terrible father; especially does he seem to have inherited the elder monarch's remarkable shrewdness and love for diplomatic methods, but he was less violent and bloodthirsty. Unlike Sweyn, he was anything but a typical viking; the lesser excitements of court life appealed to him more than the wild life of the sea-king. These differences may, to some extent, have been due to a strong strain of Slavic blood, for racially Cnut was Danish only in part. His mother was a Slavic princess⁹—Gunhild was her Danish name—the sister of Boleslav Chrobri,¹⁰ the great Polish duke who later assumed the royal title. It is probable that his paternal grandmother too was of Slavic blood: we know from a runic inscription that Sweyn's father, Harold Blutooth, at one time had a Slavic queen.¹¹ It is usually thought that at the time of his accession he was twenty-one or twenty-two years old. Younger he could scarcely have been, as his stepmother Sigrid began her career at the Danish court about 997; but there is no reason why

⁸ Ramsay, *Foundations of England*, I. 406.

⁹ English historians have assumed that Cnut's mother was the Swedish queen dowager, Sigrid the Haughty, whom Sweyn married about 997; at least they uniformly speak of Sigrid's son Olaf as Cnut's half-brother. Lappenberg, *History of England*, II. 198; Freeman, *Norman Conquest*, I. 277; Ramsay, *Foundations of England*, I. 393.

¹⁰ *Danmarks Riges Historie*, I. (Copenhagen, 1897-1904, Johannes Steenstrup), p. 371.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, I. 360.

he may not have been several years older.¹² But whatever his age, he was young in years and younger still in training for government. So far as we know his first experience as a ruler came in the autumn of 1016. His training was that of a viking, a training that promised little for the future.

It seems therefore a safe assumption that in the adoption of policies the king's decision would be influenced to a large degree by the advice of trusted counsellors. In the first year of the reign there stood about the king three prominent leaders, three military chiefs to whom in a great measure he owed his crown. One of these, Eadric the Mercian, for obvious reasons never enjoyed the royal confidence. Closer to the king stood Earl Eric, for fifteen years the viceroy of western Norway and now the Earl of Northumbria. Eric was Cnut's brother-in-law and a man of a nobler character than was usual among men of the viking type, but he knew little of English affairs and for this reason perhaps the king gave his confidence to the stately viking, Thurkil the Tall. For a ten years' stay in England as viking invader and chief of Ethelred's mercenary forces had surely given Thurkil a wide acquaintance among the English magnates and considerable insight into English affairs.¹³

But whatever the reason for the king's choice, we seem to have sufficient evidence to conclude that for some years Thurkil held a position second only to that of the king. Wherever his name appears among the earls who witness royal grants, it holds first place.¹⁴ In Cnut's proclamation of 1020, he seems to act on the king's behalf in the general administration of justice:

Should any one prove so rash, clerk or layman, Dane or Angle, as to violate God's law or the rights of my kingship or any secular statute, and refuse to do penance according to the instruction of my bishops, or to desist from his evil, then I request Thurkil the earl, yea, even command him, to bring the offender to justice, if he is able to do so.¹⁵

In case the earl is unable to manage the matter alone, Cnut promises to assist. There is something in this procedure which reminds one of the later Norman official, the justiciar. That Thurkil's dignity is not a new creation is evident from the preamble, in which Cnut sends "greetings to his archbishops and bishops and Thurkil earl

¹² Steenstrup places his age at about 22. *Normannerne* (Copenhagen, 1876-1882), II. 298; *Danmarks Riges Historie*, I. 385.

¹³ For an account of Thurkil's earlier career in England, see Freeman, *Norman Conquest*, vol. I., app., note NN.

¹⁴ See Kemble, *Codex Diplomaticus* (London, 1839-1848), nos. 728, 739, and 731; also nos. 727 and 729; but these are of doubtful genuineness.

¹⁵ Liebermann, *Gesetze der Angelsachsen* (Halle, 1903), I. 274.

and all his earls and all his subjects".¹⁶ The language of the preamble also suggests that Thurkil may have acted as the king's deputy during Cnut's absence in Denmark. It is to be noted that of all the magnates Thurkil alone is mentioned by name. The dedication of the church at Assandun later in the year affords the sources another opportunity to give Thurkil prominent mention; in this instance general reference is made to a number of important officials, but Earl Thurkil and Archbishop Wulfstan alone are mentioned by name.¹⁷

As the years passed, Cnut developed into a remarkable ruler; but in this early period of apprenticeship there is little evidence of any zeal for good government or any anxiety about reconciling the two hostile races. The problem that Cnut and Thurkil had to solve was how to establish the new throne among an unfriendly people, for the Saxons cannot have regarded the Danish usurper with much affection. It is generally believed that Cnut took up his residence in the old city of Winchester, though we do not know at what time this came to be his recognized capital. It may be true, as is so often asserted, that he made England his home from personal choice, but it may also be true that he believed his presence necessary to hold Wessex in subjection. It is a significant fact that during the first decade of his reign he was absent from England twice only, so far as we know, and then during the winter months when chances of an uprising were most remote.¹⁸

The first recorded act of the new sovereign was the division of the kingdom into four great earldoms. Much has been made of this act in the past: the importance of the measure has been overrated; the purpose of the king has been misunderstood. Lappenberg views it as a step in the direction of reform.¹⁹ Freeman sees it as an effort to restore the constitution of the tenth century.²⁰ Steenstrup, on the other hand, regards it as an important innovation.²¹ To Hodgkin it reveals a king who was "wisely distrustful of his own ability to direct personally the details of government throughout the whole kingdom".²² It seems to the writer, however, that what

¹⁶ Liebermann, *Gesetze der Angelsachsen*, I. 273.

¹⁷ *Chronicle* (D), A. D. 1020: "On þisan gear for se cyng and þurcyl eorl to Assandane and Wulfstan arceb. and oðre biscopas and eac abbodas and manega munecas and gehalgodan þæt mynster æt Assandune."

¹⁸ The first recorded absence was during the winter of 1019 and 1020; Cnut returned in time for the Easter festivities. See *Chronicle*, A. D. 1020; Florence of Worcester, I. 182. The *Chronicle* tells us of another return from Denmark in 1023; as this return was earlier than the translation of Saint Alphege in June, the absence must have been during the winter months.

¹⁹ *History of England*, II. 197.

²⁰ *Norman Conquest*, I. 273.

²¹ *Normannerne*, III. 291-292.

²² Hunt and Poole, *Political History of England*, I. (London, 1906), p. 401.

Cnut did at this time was merely to recognize the *status quo*. Eric was already Earl of Northumbria, having succeeded Uhtred a few months before.²³ Eadric had long been a power in Mercia;²⁴ an attempt to dislodge him at this time would have been more than impolitic. If any action was taken in 1017 with respect to these earls and their earldoms, it must have been confirmatory only. Provision had to be made, of course, for Thurkil; and as the Earl of East Anglia had fallen in the closing battle of the war, it was convenient to fill the vacancy and honor the old viking at the same time.²⁵

It seems never to have been Cnut's purpose to keep England permanently divided into four great jurisdictions; what evidence we have points to a wholly different policy. In 1018 we find as many as six earls or *duces* mentioned in the charters.²⁶ A document from the period of 1020–1023 contains the signatures of seven.²⁷ During the first decade of Cnut's reign, fifteen earls appear in his charters as witnesses or otherwise.²⁸ Three of these may, however, have

²³ *Chronicle*. A. D. 1016.

²⁴ Eadric first appears as ealdorman in Mercia in 1007. See the *Chronicle* for that year.

²⁵ East Anglia as part of the old Danelaw must have had a strong Scandinavian element in its population to whom the appointment of such a famous chieftain as Thurkil must have been gratifying. The name of his predecessor, Ulfikytel, would indicate that he too was of Northern origin.

²⁰ Kemble, *Codex Diplomaticus*, nos. 728, 730.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, no. 735.

²⁸ The following table is compiled from Kemble's collection of charters (*Codex Diplomaticus*). An effort has been made to sift the evidence and all documents which do not seem to bear genuine subscriptions have been excluded. Of the charters rejected, nos. 729, 742, 744, and 1327 yield additional information; but all are open to suspicion, and one, no. 742, the charter of Healden Scearpa, is clearly a forgery.

	No. in K. C. D.	Year.
Thurkil	728.	× 1018
Eric	730.	× 1019
Eglaf (Eilif)	731.	× 1013-20
Hrani (Ranig)	731b.	× 1020
Ethelwerd	7317.	× 1022
Godwin	734.	× 1022
Ethelred	735.	× 1020-23
Hakon	736.	× 1021-23
Leofwine	737.	× 1023
Godric	738.	× 1023
Ulf	739.	× 1023
Thrym	740.	× 1021-24
Siræd	741.	× 1024
Wrytsleof	743.	× 1026
Sigtryg (Sihtric)	757.	[1017-26]
Leofric	755.	[1017-35]
Siward	746.	× 1032
Elfwine	749.	× 1033
	750.	× 1033
	751.	× 1033
	752.	× 1033
	7319.	× 1033
	753.	× 1035
	322.	× 1035
	324.	× 1035

* Huc, probably a scribal error for Iric or Yric.

been visiting magnates from elsewhere in Cnut's dominions.²⁹ Another, Thrym, may not have been an earl, as in another copy of the document which he signs as such he appears as plain *minister*.³⁰ There remain then the names of eleven magnates who seem to have enjoyed the earl's dignity during these years. Of these eleven names, seven are Scandinavian and four are Anglo-Saxon;³¹ but of the latter only one appears with any decided permanence.

Thurkil, as we have already seen, was ruler of East Anglia and next to the king in authority. According to the sagas he was Cnut's foster-father.³² The evidence is not of the best, but the statement is not improbable: when Sigrid the Haughty became queen of Denmark, it is likely that the infant son of her banished rival was removed from the royal surroundings. Thurkil ruled as earl from 1017 to 1021. After Cnut's return from Denmark in 1020, some misunderstanding seems to have arisen between him and the old war chief,³³ for toward the close of the next year he was exiled. A reconciliation was effected a year later, but for some reason the king preferred to leave him as his lieutenant in Denmark, and he was not restored to his English dignities.³⁴

Eric seems to have taken Thurkil's place as first among the earls,³⁵ ranking as such till his death in 1023. Eric was a Norseman but he was closely connected with Danish royalty: he had married Cnut's sister Gytha and, if the sagas are reliable, he was Queen Emma's third cousin, both tracing their ancestry to Rolf, the founder of Normandy. As a ruler of the semi-Norwegian earldom of Northumbria, Eric occupied an important position in the state, but he was advanced in years, his capital was distant from that of

²⁹ Siræd, Wrytsleof, and Sigtryg (see table). Sigtryg is clearly a Scandinavian name, but I am not so sure about Siræd. As has been pointed out by Steenstrup, Wrytsleof is probably the English form of the Slavic name Vratislav. Steenstrup, *Venderne og de Danske* (Copenhagen, 1900), p. 7.

³⁰ Napier and Stevenson, *Crawford Collection of Charters* (Oxford, 1895), p. 29.

³¹ Ethelwerd, Godwin, Ethelred, and Godric. See table.

³² *Flateyrbok* (Christiania, 1859-1868), I. 203.

³³ As to the cause of the trouble we are not informed. Steenstrup believes that Thurkil was distasteful to the native element and that he may have opposed Cnut's new policy of giving the Saxons a larger share in the government. *Normannerne*, III. 316-317. But there is little evidence that Cnut had taken any decided stand on this point as early as 1021; and I am inclined to accept Freeman's suggestion that Cnut removed him because he feared his growing influence, especially after his marriage to Ethelred's daughter. *Norman Conquest*, I. 287.

³⁴ *Chronicle*, A. D. 1021, 1023.

³⁵ He soon shares with Godwin the distinction of signing charters as first among the earls. See Kemble, *Codex Diplomaticus*, nos. 734, 735, 736, 737, 1316.

the king, and he could consequently not fill the place that Thurkil had occupied as Cnut's chief adviser.³⁶

Eglaf's name appears in a number of documents dating from 1019 to 1024. He was one of the leaders of the fleet and host that came to England in 1009.³⁷ Later he seems to have entered Ethelred's service.³⁸ During the closing years of the conflict, he was doubtless fighting for Cnut; he was therefore one of the chiefs whom the king found it necessary to reward with an earldom. We have no definite information as to what region he administered, but there are indications that the southern part of the Welsh frontier was committed to his keeping.³⁹

Hrani's name appears in only four documents but at least as late as 1026. His earldom, as we definitely know, was the old region of the Magasaetas, the modern shire of Hereford.⁴⁰

Ethelwerd is the first earl with an English name whom we meet in any of Cnut's charters. In a document apparently from 1018, relating to Devonshire lands,⁴¹ he testifies along with Cnut and a number of churchmen, including the monks at Exeter and Crediton. He seems to have been placed in charge of the southwestern counties in 1016, and was permitted to enjoy the dignity until 1020, when he was sent into exile.⁴² A *dux* Ethelred signs a grant in 1019 and disappears. As the document involved lands in Dorsetshire, which probably made part of Ethelwerd's province, it is likely that we have here only a scribal error for Ethelwerd.⁴³

Godwin is the first English earl of importance to appear among Cnut's magnates. From 1019 to the close of the reign his signature appears in almost every document and invariably with the title of *eorl*, *comes*, or *dux*. The fact that Godwin found it so easy to be present whenever any grant was to be witnessed would indicate

³⁶ For a good brief sketch of Eric's career, see Napier and Stevenson, *Crawford Collection of Charters*, pp. 142-148.

³⁷ Florence of Worcester, I. 161.

³⁸ See *Crawford Collection of Charters*, pp. 140-141.

³⁹ In a document from 1022, Aglaf *comes* appears as a witness; also, among others, "*tota ciuitas Gloucestriae*". Kemble, *Codex Diplomaticus*, no. 1317. Eglaf is the only important non-churchman among the witnesses. Welsh annals for this same year (1022) tell us that Eilaf ravaged Demetia (southern Wales). *Annales Cambriae* (London, 1860; Rolls Series, no. 20).

⁴⁰ Kemble, *Codex Diplomaticus*, no. 755. A Hrani is spoken of in the sagas as the intimate friend and companion of Saint Olaf on his viking expeditions, but identification is not possible. Snorre, *Saga of Saint Olaf*, c. 27 (*Kongesagaer*, Christiania, 1900, ed. Storm).

⁴¹ *Crawford Collection of Charters*, p. 9. Not in Kemble's *Codex*.

⁴² *Ibid.*, p. 79; *Chronicle*, A. D. 1020. His title is usually given as *ealdorman*.

⁴³ Kemble, *Codex Diplomaticus*, no. 730. Ethelwerd's signature does not appear in the document, though he was still apparently holding the *ealdormanship*.

that he could not have been located far away from the royal court; perhaps he was closely attached to it. Freeman argues that he could not have had more than a shire in his control at first, since Cnut had reserved the earldom of Wessex for himself.⁴⁴ But we do not know how long that arrangement was permitted to last; as we have seen, it seems to have been merely a temporary expedient. Nor do we know how Cnut interpreted the reservation. It is evident that Ethelwerd's authority in the Devon country was not disturbed by the arrangement of 1017. The sources, however, give but meagre information: all that we are permitted to conclude is that Wessex, perhaps a part only at first, seems to have been Godwin's earldom from the very beginning.

Hakon signs regularly from 1019 to 1026. He was Eric's son and consequently Cnut's own nephew. When his father joined Cnut in his expedition against Ethelred, the Norse earldom was committed to Hakon's keeping. But soon the standard of revolt was raised by the young viking whom history knows as Saint Olaf, and Hakon was driven from the country.⁴⁵ Hakon at once repaired to England where he was well received by his uncle who gave him the region about Worcester to rule over.⁴⁶ In 1026 hostilities broke out between Denmark and Norway; the result was the final expulsion of King Olaf and the restoration of Hakon to his old viceroyalty.⁴⁷ A few years later he perished in shipwreck.⁴⁸

Of the three remaining magnates, Leofwine, Godric, and Ulf, little can be said at this point. Freeman's conjecture that Leofwine succeeded Eadric as the chief ruler in Mercia is probably correct.⁴⁹ Godric is no doubt the ealdorman Godric whose signature is found in several documents from the closing years of the previous reign. Ulf played but a small part in English history, but as the husband of Cnut's sister Estrith he was doubtless a man of importance even in England. There is nothing to indicate what regions were controlled either by Godric or Ulf.

These were the men with whom Cnut shared his authority during the first ten years of his reign. For the five years following, charter evidence is wholly wanting; those were the years of the wars with

⁴⁴ *Norman Conquest*, vol. I., app., note AAA.

⁴⁵ For an account of this uprising, see Snorre, *Saga of St. Olaf*, cc. 30, 31.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, c. 31; Kemble, *Codex Diplomaticus*, no. 757. This document appears to be a later Latin translation of a genuine Anglo-Saxon writ. Whether Hakon succeeded to the earldom of Northumbria after the death of Eric is a question that cannot be answered. Cf. Ramsay, *Foundations of England*, I. 400.

⁴⁷ Snorre, *Saga of St. Olaf*, cc. 168-171.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, c. 184; *Chronicle*, A. D. 1030.

⁴⁹ *Norman Conquest*, vol. I., app., note CCC.

Norway and Sweden, of the pilgrimage to Rome, and of the trouble with Scotland. These affairs necessitated frequent and protracted absences, and, as a consequence, grants were few. But when documents reappear in 1032 we note an interesting situation: of all the earls of the previous period only one remains, the Saxon Godwin. And parallel to his influence seems to run that of the Mercian Leofric, the son of Leofwine. We get a glimpse of Siward the Strong and find mention of an obscure Elfwine; but the significant matter is the absence of the old guard and the prominence of the two native lords whose rivalries grew to such importance in the reign of Edward the Confessor.

Unsatisfactory as the evidence for the earlier decade is, it is not without significance. Even if it does not allow any definite or extensive generalizing, we are at least permitted to draw a few suggestive inferences. I shall attempt to make a brief statement of these.

(1) Cnut apparently retained the old office of the ealdormanship, but not in its ancient form. The men who were chosen to fill this office had (some of them at least) filled analogous offices in the North, and, naturally, there would be a tendency to assimilate the functions of the new office to those exercised earlier. The official title was gradually coming to be earl instead of ealdorman; but the Scandinavian *jarl* was more like a viceroy than a mere local administrative officer.⁵⁰ It seems likely therefore that the local lords came to exercise greater authority than earlier. The development of this tendency is clearly apparent in the following reigns.

(2) As a check perhaps on the local functionaries, Cnut seems to have employed an official somewhat like the Carolingian *missus*, a messenger sent to the shire moot to represent royalty. We have a solitary instance of such a mission in a document reciting certain transactions at a shire court in Hereford. Incidentally it is stated that "Tofig the Proud came there on the king's errand."⁵¹ It is worth noting that the messenger is a Dane of evident importance at court, as his name frequently appears among the *ministri* witnessing charters.⁵² From the same reign we have also the earliest instance of the Old English writ by which information or mandates

⁵⁰ See Steenstrup, *Danelag (Normannerne, IV.)*, p. 110. In the eleventh century the *jarl* had become an official of such extensive authority that the kings in the North were reluctant to grant the title.

⁵¹ Kemble, *Codex Diplomaticus*, no. 755. I know of no earlier reference to such a mission.

⁵² For further information on this interesting Dane, see Freeman, *Norman Conquest*, vol. I., app., note XXX.

were sent directly to the local authorities.⁵³ We are probably not justified in concluding that we have positive innovations in both these instances; but as the kings in the North were in the habit of dealing frequently and directly with the local assemblies, it seems likely after all that we have here Northern customs continued in England.⁵⁴

(3) The most important places in the local government were given to Danes and Norsemen. So far as we know only two of Ethelred's ealdormen, Ethelwerd and Godric, were retained in their offices, but of these the former soon suffered exile, while Godric seems to have played but a small part in the councils of Cnut. Two appointments from the native population were made, those of Godwin and Leofwine. In the case of Godwin, it is to be observed that he was not of the old aristocracy,⁵⁵ and that he was closely bound to the new dynasty by his marriage to Gytha,⁵⁶ the sister of Ulf. As to Leofwine's ancestry we are not informed, but one is tempted to suggest that the occurrence of the name "Northman" in a family living in or near the old Danelaw may indicate Norse ancestry.⁵⁷

(4) The more prominent of Cnut's earls were drawn from three illustrious families in the North, one Norwegian and two Danish; and the king was connected with at least two of these. Thurkil the Tall was the son of Harold, once earl (Snorre calls him king) of Scania, an important region at the southern extremity of modern Sweden.⁵⁸ We have already noted that he was Cnut's reputed foster-father. Eric and his son Hakon represented the lordly race of the Norse Earl Hakon who in his day was king of Norway in everything but name. Cnut's own sister was Eric's wife; his niece

⁵³ For a good example of the writ, see *Codex Diplomaticus*, no. 1325. The earliest extant is probably no. 731.

⁵⁴ Illustrations of such practice on the part of the king may be found everywhere in the sagas. Usually the king appears in person, though the staller as a rule presents the royal wishes. See for example, Snorre, *Olaf Tryggvesson's Saga*, cc. 55, 65, 68; *Saga of St. Olaf*, cc. 61, 113.

⁵⁵ On the problem of Godwin's ancestry, see Freeman, *Norman Conquest*, vol. I., app., note ZZ. Cf. Hodgkin's view in *Political History of England*, I. 403. Apparently the problem cannot be solved; but had Godwin belonged to the old aristocracy, we should have less difficulty in tracing his lineage.

⁵⁶ The prevalence of the name "Gytha" among the Danes in England is due in part to the popularity of the name, and in part to the fact that the name was also made to serve as a translation of the Anglo-Saxon "Eadgyth" (Edith).

⁵⁷ Leofwine had a son, Northman, who was executed in 1017 (see the *Chronicle* for that year). Freeman suggests that the Northman *dux* who signed a charter in 994 may have been Leofwine's father. *Norman Conquest*, vol. I., app., note CCC. Freeman of course does not believe that this Northman was anything but a Saxon.

⁵⁸ *Danmarks Riges Historie*, I. 341.

was given to the younger Hakon.⁵⁹ A great Danish chief, Thorgils Sprakalegg, had two sons who had earldoms in England, Ulf and Eglaf, a son-in-law, Godwin, and a few years later a nephew, Siward the Strong, the lord of Northumbria.⁶⁰ Another of Cnut's sisters was married to Ulf. It seems that Cnut at first had in mind to establish in England a new aristocracy of Scandinavian origin, bound to the throne by the noble ties of marriage. To this aristocracy the North contributed noble and vigorous blood.

(5) In establishing the earldoms, the old boundaries appear to have been respected. We find earls in all the Old English kingdoms, Northumbria, Mercia, East Anglia, and Wessex. On the Welsh border we seem to find three small earldoms, the regions of Gloucester, Worcester, and Hereford, though these are not necessarily new creations.

The same fear for the stability of his ill-gotten throne is to be seen in Cnut's relentless attitude toward the old dynasty. It is a story of exile and execution and reveals a determination to destroy utterly the house of Alfred.⁶¹ Two of the ethelings were, however, beyond his reach: the sons of Ethelred and Emma were safe with their mother in Normandy. There was close friendship between the kings of the North and the lords of Rouen;⁶² still, Duke Richard could not be expected to ignore the claims of his own kinsmen. So long as the princes remained in Normandy, there would always be danger of a Norman invasion combined with a Saxon revolt in the interest of the fugitive princes.

But Cnut was equal to the emergency: the ethelings could at least be rendered comparatively harmless. If Emma should be restored to her former position as English queen, her Norman relatives would not be likely to support an English uprising. This seems to have been the true motive for Cnut's seemingly unnatural marriage. Historians have seen in it a hope and an attempt to conciliate the English people, as in this way the new king would become identified with the former dynasty.⁶³ But such a conclusion does but scant justice to the moral sense of the English people. William of Malmesbury no doubt reflects the opinion of the eleventh century as

⁵⁹ Florence of Worcester, I. 184.

⁶⁰ On the matter of Siward's family I follow Steenstrup, whose conclusions seem reasonable. *Normannerne*, III. 437-440.

⁶¹ For details, see Ramsay, *Foundations of England*, I. 392-393, or any other history of the period.

⁶² See Snorre, *Saga of St. Olaf*, c. 20.

⁶³ See Ramsay, *Foundations of England*, I. 394. Steenstrup holds to the same opinion. *Danmarks Riges Historie*, I. 386. Freeman, however, thinks Cnut married from personal preference. *Norman Conquest*, I. 275.

well as of his own when he says that he knows not whom to condemn the more, those who gave or the woman who consented.⁶⁴ Furthermore, neither Ethelred nor Emma had ever enjoyed much popularity. There is no doubt that a princess of the blood royal could have been found for a consort, if the prime consideration had been to contract a popular marriage. To the writer it seems that Cnut in this case acted rather in defiance of English sentiment, and for the express purpose of averting a real danger from beyond the Channel. Emma seems to have taken kindly to Cnut's plans, for she is said to have stipulated that if sons were born to them, they should be preferred to Cnut's older children as heirs to the throne, thus by inference abandoning the rights of her sons in Normandy.⁶⁵

A third problem was how to provide for the national defense. The old military system could obviously not be depended on, and the army of conquest could not be retained indefinitely. In 1018 we find that the Scandinavian host was paid off and dismissed. It has been conjectured that this was done out of consideration for the Saxon race; the presence of the conquerors was an insult to the English people.⁶⁶ It had evidently become necessary to disband the force, but perhaps for other reasons. A viking army was an army of conquest, rarely of occupation, except when the warriors were permitted to appropriate the land; but such was apparently not Cnut's intention. In a land of peace as England was now coming to be, the viking led an insipid life. To one who is acquainted with the saga narratives, the marvel is that such a force could have been held together so long as it was. But after the Danegeld had been collected, the army was dismissed to the evident satisfaction of all concerned.⁶⁷

The dismissal of one host was quickly followed by the organization of another. Far more important than the departure of the fleet is the fact that the crews of forty ships remained in the royal service. These no doubt furnished the nucleus of Cnut's famous guard of house-carles. It is not the purpose to enter on a discussion of Cnut's military household; that has been done elsewhere; but attention should be called to the fact that the house-carles formed an army of occupation as well as a personal guard.⁶⁸ As the earls

⁶⁴ *Gesta Regum* (London, 1888; Rolls Series, no. 90), I. 218.

⁶⁵ *Scriptores Rerum Danicarum*, II. 490, "Encomium Emmae".

⁶⁶ *Danmarks Riges Historie*, I. 388.

⁶⁷ *Chronicle*, A. D. 1018.

⁶⁸ On this subject, see Steenstrup, *Danelag (Normannerne, IV.)*, pp. 123 ff.; Larson, *King's Household in England before the Norman Conquest* (Madison, 1904), pp. 152 ff.

seem to have had similar though no doubt less elaborate household guards,⁶⁹ it would be possible in cases requiring prompt action to mobilize an effective force on short notice. When Cnut went abroad in 1019, the larger part of the guard was prudently left in England; only nine ships accompanied the king to Denmark.⁷⁰

II.

The first four years of Cnut's government can have given but little promise of the beneficent rule that was to follow. To the conquered Saxon they must have been years of great sorrow. On the throne of Alfred sat an alien king who had done nothing as yet to merit the affectionate regard of his subjects. In the shire courts ruled the chiefs of the dreaded Danish hosts, chiefs who had probably harried those same shires at an earlier date. A heavy tax had been collected to pay the forces of the enemy, forces that still in part remained. The land was at peace, but the calm was the calm of exhaustion. The young king had shown vigor and decision, but his efforts had been directed toward dynastic security rather than the welfare of his subjects.

But with Cnut's return from Denmark in 1020 begins the second period of the history of the reign. It seems that after that date more intelligent efforts were made to reconcile the Saxon to foreign rule. For one thing, Cnut must have come to appreciate the wonderful power of the Church, for an attempt is made to enlist its forces on the side of the new monarchy.

This change in policy seems to have arisen mainly from the new situation created by Cnut's accession to the Danish throne.⁷¹ His brother Harold died, it appears, in 1018, about the time when Cnut was reorganizing the military forces of England. Not till the next year did he venture across the North Sea. He remained in Denmark through the winter, but returned in time for a great meeting of the lords at Easter.⁷² An indication of a departure from the older policies is found in a remarkable proclamation that was issued to the nation during that year.

This document bears no date, but Liebermann is no doubt correct in placing it some time in 1020.⁷³ It was clearly published some time after the meeting of the Easter *gemot*. This assembly was evidently called to deal with certain rebellious movements in the

⁶⁹ In the *Chronicle*, A. D. 1054, is a mention of Earl Siward's house-carles.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, A. D. 1019.

⁷¹ The importance of this event was first brought out with due prominence by Dr. Steenstrup. See *Normannerne*, III. 308.

⁷² *Chronicle*, A. D. 1019, 1020.

⁷³ Liebermann, *Gesetze der Angelsachsen*, I. 273.

southwest; it met at Cirencester in the Severn country, and its chief act seems to have been the banishment of Ethelwerd, earl of the southwestern shires.⁷⁴ The proclamation hints darkly at some such trouble: "Now did I not spare my treasures while unpeace was threatening to come upon you; now with the help of God I have warded this off by the use of my treasures."⁷⁵

This proclamation was not known to Lappenberg and Freeman; it is ignored by Hodgkin, and misunderstood by Ramsay, whose translation of parts of it is strangely inaccurate.⁷⁶ Evidently the English trouble was not the only danger of the time; in Denmark too there was dissatisfaction, as we infer from the language of section v.:

Then I was informed that there threatened us a danger greater than was well pleasing to us; and then I myself with the men who went with me departed for Denmark, whence came to you the greatest danger; and that I have with God's help forestalled, so that henceforth no unpeace shall come to you from that country, so long as you stand by me as the law commands, and guard my life.

The allusion is probably to some difficulty about the Danish succession. There may have been a party in Denmark to whom it was not pleasant to call a king from England;⁷⁷ or it may be that a conservative faction was hoping for a ruler of the old faith.

Both in Denmark and in England the situation was therefore such that it might give Cnut some concern. It was time for a more definite policy of conciliation. At the same time, the union of the two crowns had made harsh measures in England less necessary. The Danes would not soon forget that they had placed a king on the throne at Winchester. An appeal to Danish loyalty and pride would be sure to call thousands to Cnut's aid in case of serious trouble. The opportunity had come for the great Dane to prove his abilities as an enlightened ruler.

There is, however, no evidence for the belief sometimes expressed that Cnut had at this time concluded to dispense with his Scandinavian officials and to rule England with the aid of Englishmen.⁷⁸ Among the *ministri* who witnessed his charters, Danes and Saxons

⁷⁴ *Chronicle*, A. D. 1020.

⁷⁵ Section IV.

⁷⁶ *Foundations of England*, I. 397. The author's translation of section v. is impossible. He understands the allusion to a threatening danger as referring to past injuries from Denmark. Cnut's mention of his own journey he understands as a reference to the departure of the fleet. Ramsay is also in error as to the date, which he gives as 1018.

⁷⁷ Such is Steenstrup's view. *Danmarks Riges Historie*, I. 388.

⁷⁸ Steenstrup, *Normannerne*, III. 316-317.

continue to appear in but slightly changed ratio till the end of the reign.⁷⁹ The alien guard was not dismissed. The local rule continued in the hands of Norse and Danish earls. Time came when these had disappeared but for reasons that show no conscious purpose of removal. Thurkil was outlawed, but not because Cnut wished to replace him with an Englishman; it was rather because it was not held wise to permit the husband of Ethelred's daughter to rank next to the king himself. The sources significantly mention Thurkil's wife as sharing her husband's exile.⁸⁰ Eric died at a ripe old age; he probably passed the limit of three score and ten. In time a story rose that Cnut sent him too into exile, but this seems to be without foundation.⁸¹ According to the sagas his death was due to primitive surgery. Ulf was needed as viceroy in Denmark. It was only natural that Hakon should be restored to his Norwegian viceroyalty after the expulsion of King Olaf. But as these men disappear, one by one, from the English stage their places are doubtless taken by native Englishmen. Cnut's empire was now becoming so extensive, including, as it did by 1030, England, Denmark, Norway, and various regions on the south Baltic shores, that it was no longer possible to find enough eminent men of the old type to fill the important offices of trust. Cnut gradually adopted the policy of utilizing native talent, but it was a policy that seems in part to have been forced upon him by circumstances and his own ambitions. Still, so far as we know, only two English earls held prominent places in the royal councils when the reign closed—Godwin and Leofric.

It has been suggested by Freeman that the same *gemot* that outlawed Ethelwerd (1020) may have seen the exaltation of Earl Godwin to the unique position that he held in the kingdom, at least later in life.⁸² But this is conjecture merely. It is evident that Godwin's influence with Cnut grew great with the passage of time; still, it is likely that historians have projected his greatness too far

⁷⁹ The numbers vary with the documents. Of thirteen *ministri* who witnessed a document in 1019, seven or eight have Danish names. A document from 1032 has sixteen such names, eight apparently belonging to each nationality. See Kemble, *Codex Diplomaticus*, nos. 730, 746.

⁸⁰ Florence of Worcester, I. 183.

⁸¹ English historians, following Malmesbury (*Gesta Regum*, I. 219), usually accept the banishment of Eric; thus Lappenberg (*History of England*, II. 207), Freeman (*Norman Conquest*, I. 288), and Ramsay (*Foundations of England*, I. 400). The story is rejected by Steenstrup (*Normannerne*, III. 321) and by the editors of the *Crawford Collection of Charters*, p. 147.

⁸² *Norman Conquest*, I. 285.

back into his career.⁸³ A position analogous to that of Thurkil the Tall he could not have held before the closing years of the reign; if Cnut left any one in charge of the realm during his absence after 1020, it could not have been Godwin. When the fleet sailed against the Slavic coast in 1022, Godwin appears to have been in the host.⁸⁴ We are told that he fought valiantly in the Swedish campaign of 1026.⁸⁵ A runic monument records his presence in some expedition to Norway, presumably that of 1028.⁸⁶ Cnut does not seem to have employed English forces to any large extent in his foreign wars; possibly he was distrustful of them. Only fifty English ships made part of the vast fleet that overawed and conquered Norway in 1028.⁸⁷ Reluctance about arming the English nation may also account for the surrender of Lothian after the battle of Carham in 1018.⁸⁸ The presence of Godwin in Cnut's host may therefore be taken as a mark of confidence on the part of the king.

The proclamation of 1020 is a general promise of good government, in return for which the king expects loyalty and submission. Two years earlier, Danes and Angles had agreed at Oxford to accept and observe Edgar's laws; a stricter observance of these is now urged. Sundry crimes are more strictly forbidden; reeves and other officials are enjoined to deal righteously in every case; and, perhaps most important of all, the king appears as the ally of the Church and strongly urges a closer attention to Christian rites and precepts.

⁸³ The Saxon biographer of Edward the Confessor, a contemporary of Godwin, speaks of the earl's importance at court in the following terms: "Taliter ergo diutius probatum, ponit eum sibi a secretis, dans illi in conjugem sororem suam. Unde cum repatriaret in Angliam, feliciter actis omnibus totius pæne regni, ab ipso constituitur dux et bajulus." But we have no clue as to the time when these honors were bestowed. "Repatriaret" may refer to the return in 1020 or to a date as late as 1029, when Cnut returned from the conquest of Norway. Godwin's wife was the sister, not of the king but of the king's brother-in-law. *Lives of Edward the Confessor* (London, 1858; Rolls Series, no. 3), p. 392.

⁸⁴ The entry in the *Chronicle* (A.D. 1022) stating that Cnut sailed with his fleet to Wiht (one manuscript has Wihtland) is taken by Steenstrup to mean that it sailed to the Slavic Witland, a region referred to in Wulfstan's report to King Alfred. *Normannerne*, III. 322-325. It may have been in this campaign that Godwin, as Henry of Huntingdon tells us, displayed such signal bravery in fighting the Slavs. *Historia Anglorum* (London, 1879; Rolls Series, no. 74), p. 187.

⁸⁵ William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Regum*, I. 220-221.

⁸⁶ *Afhandlingar viede Sophus Bugges Minde* (Christiania, 1908), p. 8.

⁸⁷ Snorre doubtless exaggerates when he places the number of ships at 1440; but that the number was unusually great is evident from the ease with which the fleet accomplished its work. *Saga of St. Olaf*, c. 187.

⁸⁸ It will be remembered that in that year Cnut dismissed his Danish forces; the battle probably came after the fleet had departed, when Cnut was poorly prepared for aggressive warfare.

III.

The English church enjoyed Cnut's favor from the very beginning: the king was a Christian, and, furthermore, he no doubt saw in the Church a mighty force that should not be antagonized. At the same time, there is no evidence for any close union between Church and monarchy before 1020;⁸⁹ and even then it was more like an *entente cordiale* than an open, aggressive alliance, as it later came to be. Cnut was a Christian, but he was also a shrewd statesman and a consummate politician. The situation among his Danish supporters in England as well as the general religious and political conditions in the North probably made it impossible for him to accede to the full demands of the Church without danger to his ambitions and probable ruin to his imperialistic plans.

When the eleventh century opened, the North was still largely heathen. Missionaries had long been at work, and the faith had found considerable foothold in Denmark, especially on the Jutish peninsula. Cnut's father, Sweyn, had been baptized; but other indications of his Christian faith are difficult to find. His queen, Sigrid the Haughty, was almost violent in her devotion to the old worship. Sweden remained overwhelmingly heathen for some years yet, while the progress of the Church in Norway depended on royal mandates supported by the sword and the firebrand. Only five years before the death of Cnut, Norse heathendom won its last notable victory, when Saint Olaf fell before the onslaught of the yeomanry at Stiklestead (1030).⁹⁰

The army that conquered England for Cnut was no doubt also largely heathen.⁹¹ It seems therefore safe to assume that during the early years of the new reign the worship of Woden was carried on in various places on English soil, surely in the Danish camps, possibly also in some of the Danish settlements. This situation compelled the Christian king to be at least tolerant. Soon there began to appear at the English court prominent exiles from Norway, hot-headed chiefs, whose sense of independence had been outraged by the zealous missionary efforts of King Olaf.⁹² Cnut had not been king of England more than six or seven years before the Norwegian problem began to take on unusual interest. Before long the mis-

⁸⁹ Steenstrup believes that there was a junction of these forces at the very beginning of the reign. *Danmarks Riges Historie*, I. 401.

⁹⁰ For an account of St. Olaf's efforts to christianize Norway, see Snorre, *Saga of St. Olaf*, *passim*.

⁹¹ That there were Christians in the Danish hosts appears from the story of Archbishop Alphege's murder in 1012. *Chronicle*, A. D. 1012; Florence of Worcester, I. 165. But these were evidently few.

⁹² See Snorre, *Saga of St. Olaf*, cc. 121, 130 ff.

sionary king found his throne completely undermined by streams of British gold.⁹³ The exiles who sought refuge at Winchester and the men who bore the bribes back to Norway were scarcely enthusiastic for the faith that frowned on piracy, and it was therefore necessary for Cnut to play the rôle of the tolerant, broad-minded monarch, who, while holding firmly to his own faith, was not interfering with that of others. In his later ecclesiastical legislation, Cnut gave the Church all the enactments that it might wish for, but it is a significant fact that these laws do not come before the Northern question has been settled according to Cnut's desires, and his viceroy was ruling in Norway.⁹⁴ Edgar's laws, which were re-enacted in 1018 at the Oxford assembly, deal with the matter of Christianity in general terms only. The more explicit and extensive church legislation of Ethelred's day was set aside and apparently remained a dead letter until it was in large measure re-enacted as a part of Cnut's church law late in the reign.

The subjection of England to an alien, half-heathen aristocracy must have caused many difficulties to the English church. How the problems were met we do not know. Archbishop Lifing seems to have made a journey to Rome during those early years, 1018 or 1019, perhaps; we may conjecture that he went to see counsel as to what attitude the Church should assume toward the new powers, but we do not know. It is evident, however, that the subject was discussed at the papal court, for a letter was sent to Cnut exhorting him to extol the praise of God, put away injustice, and promote peace. It must have flattered the young Dane to receive this for he refers to it in his proclamation:

I have taken to heart the written and verbal messages that Archbishop Lifing brought to me from Rome from the pope, that I should everywhere extol the praise of God, put away injustice, and promote full security and peace, so far as God should give me strength.⁹⁵

Archbishop Lifing died that same year (1020) and Ethelnoth the Good was appointed to the primacy.⁹⁶ The choice was evidently Cnut's own and the two men seem to have labored together in singular harmony. But though Ethelnoth was primate, the dominant influence at court seems to have been that of an abbot in Devonshire. While Abbot Lifing was yet only a monk at Winchester, he seems to have attracted the king's attention; at any rate, we are told by William of Malmesbury that he became an intimate

⁹³ Snorre, *Saga of St. Olaf*, c. 161; Florence of Worcester, I. 184.

⁹⁴ Cnut's legislation will be discussed later in this paper.

⁹⁵ Liebermann, *Gesetze der Angelsachsen*, I. 273 (section III.). I know of no other reference to Lifing's Roman journey.

⁹⁶ Florence of Worcester, I. 183.

friend of Cnut and exerted great influence with him.⁹⁷ It was probably this friendship that secured him the abbacy of Tavistock, perhaps in 1024, in which year he signs charters for the first time as abbot.⁹⁸ Two years later he signs as bishop, having probably been advanced to the see of Crediton.⁹⁹ In this same year the king further honors him with a grant of five *cassatas* of land in Hampshire.¹⁰⁰ This must have been just prior to the Holy River campaign in Sweden, on which expedition Lifing seems to have accompanied Cnut (William of Malmesbury tells us that he frequently went to Denmark with the king);¹⁰¹ at any rate, when Cnut without first returning to England made his journey to Rome, in the early months of 1027, the bishop was an important member of the king's retinue. It was Bishop Lifing who was sent back to England with Cnut's famous message to the English church, the king himself going on to Denmark.¹⁰² William of Malmesbury describes him as a violent, wilful, and ambitious man; when he died (in 1046) the earth took proper notice and trembled throughout all England.¹⁰³

In 1020 begins that series of benefactions and other semi-religious acts that made Cnut's name dear to the English ecclesiastics and secured him the favor of monastic chroniclers. It was in 1020 that Cnut and Thurkil dedicated the battle-field of Assandun to the service of God. That same year, apparently, monks were substituted for clerks as the guardians of Saint Edmund's shrine. Grants to churches become more numerous—to Canterbury, Winchester, Durham, Abingdon, and many more. The saints are given their proper resting-places: Saint Alphege returns to Canterbury; Saint Fleix is translated to Ramsey; Saint Wistan to Evesham. Holy relics of various sorts are brought to the great church centres. And finally, the king himself makes a journey to the capital of Christendom, where he takes a firm stand for the rights of the English church.¹⁰⁴ It seems also probable that Canterbury was permitted

⁹⁷ *Gesta Pontificum*, p. 200: "Livingus, ex monacho Wintoniensi et abbate Tavistokeni, episcopus Cridiensi, maximæ familiaritatis et potentæ apud Cnutonem regem habitus est."

⁹⁸ Kemble, *Codex Diplomaticus*, no. 741.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, no. 743; William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Pontificum*, p. 200.

¹⁰⁰ Kemble, *Codex Diplomaticus*, no. 743.

¹⁰¹ *Gesta Pontificum*, p. 200: "Cum eo Danemarcie multo conversatus tempore, in Romano itinere comitatu adhesit."

¹⁰² Florence of Worcester, I. 185. Florence seems to be in error as to the date of Lifing's promotion to the bishopric. For the king's Roman message, see *ibid.*, I. 185-189; Liebermann, *Gesetze der Angelsachsen*, I. 276-277; William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Regum*, I. 221-224.

¹⁰³ *Gesta Pontificum*, pp. 200-201.

¹⁰⁴ For brief statements of Cnut's benefactions, see Lappenberg, *History of England*, II. 203-205; Freeman, *Norman Conquest*, I. 293-296.

to dream of the primacy in the new Northern church; at any rate, Archbishop Ethelnoth was allowed to consecrate bishops for Danish sees.¹⁰⁵ But these hopes were soon crushed by the decisive action of the Archbishop of Hamburg-Bremen, and for some time yet the North was a province of German Christendom.¹⁰⁶

It is evident therefore that Cnut showed an interest in matters ecclesiastical far beyond what the Church might expect from one who still kept in close touch with non-Christian influences in the North. Still, one desire remained unsatisfied: the king had done nothing to make Christianity compulsory in England. The proclamation of 1020 looks in this direction, but it contains no decree of the desired sort. It is a peculiar document, carefully worded, largely promise and exhortation, remarkable more for what it omits than for what it contains. God's laws are not to be violated, but the task of bringing the violators to justice is committed to the old viking, Thurkil the Tall, whose appreciation of Christian virtue and divine law cannot have been of the keenest. Certain characteristically heathen sins are to be avoided, but the only crime of this nature for which a penalty is provided is that of marrying a nun or other woman under monastic vows.¹⁰⁷

As to Cnut's purpose in making his Roman journey, we can only conjecture. The conventional phrases in his so-called charter¹⁰⁸ are not to be taken too seriously; it is not likely that pious considerations alone led him to leave his realms at such a critical moment.¹⁰⁹ There can be little doubt that Cnut expected certain tangible political results to follow his pilgrimage. At that moment he stood discredited before both Dane and Angle. The previous autumn he had suffered an unexpected defeat at Holy River in Sweden.¹¹⁰ Had his opponents been in position to follow up their advantage, the situation might have become decidedly critical for the Danish king. And it would be strange if his relations with the Church were not a trifle strained at this time. Olaf was battling with the heathen powers and planting the Cross in every part of his kingdom; Cnut, on the other hand, was plotting with Olaf's enemies, with men who hoped to ruin his work. Finally, Cnut's hands were red with the

¹⁰⁵ Adamus (Hanover, 1876), lib. II., c. 53.

¹⁰⁶ *Danmarks Riges Historie*, I. 403.

¹⁰⁷ Liebermann, *Gesetze der Angelsachsen*, I. 274; especially sections IX., XV.-XIX.

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, I. 275.

¹⁰⁹ Steenstrup sees the religious motive only. *Danmarks Riges Historie*, I. 397. English historians generally seem disposed to accept the same view, though Hunt sees "a mixture of religious feelings and political motives". Stephens and Hunt, *History of the English Church*, I. (London, 1907), p. 393.

¹¹⁰ *Chronicle*, A. D. 1025 (1026); Snorre, *Saga of St. Olaf*, cc. 150 ff.

blood of Ulf, the husband of his sister, the guardian of his son, stricken down in God's own house. The situation was pregnant with ugly possibilities. It was time for prayers at Peter's tomb.

Apparently, certain promises were exacted from the king, for in his Roman letter he urges the prompt payment of all the Church dues, plough alms, Peter's pence, tithes, and the rest. Whether he further promised to follow this up with a vigorous ecclesiastical policy expressed in legislation, we do not know. But it is significant that after the Roman visit and the Norse conquest Cnut breaks completely with the Scandinavian past, so far as religion is concerned; heathenism with all its practices is banished from English soil by royal decree.¹¹¹

The date of Cnut's laws has been a matter of long dispute. Some historians favor the year 1018;¹¹² others hold to a later date.¹¹³ To the writer it seems that all the evidence, such as it is, points to a date not earlier than Christmas, 1029. The year 1018 becomes improbable in view of the fact that Cnut's church law is largely a re-enactment of Ethelred's law, which seems to have been set aside in favor of the earlier laws of Edgar at the Oxford meeting of that same year.¹¹⁴ Furthermore, the decided ecclesiastical tone of the laws argues against any date in the earlier years of the reign, while the king's council was yet largely composed of grisly vikings like Thurkil the Tall and Eglaf. In the Roman letter of 1027, the king urges the payment of the five Church dues "which we owe according to ancient law";¹¹⁵ these are again mentioned in the laws and heavy penalties are provided for non-payment.¹¹⁶ With fresh legislation in mind the king would hardly have fallen back on the authority of "ancient law". And in the letter the Englishman is ordered to pay his tithe of fruits in the middle of August; while in the laws it is due at All Saints' Day. It is evident therefore that the laws are later than the letter; otherwise the king's clerk shows a strange ignorance as to the time when Church revenues are due. If the king returned to England in the autumn

¹¹¹ Liebermann, *Gesetze der Angelsachsen*, I. 312, 313: II Cnut, 5; 5, 1.

¹¹² Kemble, *Saxons in England* (London, 1876), II. 259; Schmid, *Gesetze der Angelsachsen* (Leipzig, 1858), vol. I., p. lv; Ramsay, *Foundations of England*, I. 396. Kemble places the Winchester *gemot* at a date some time between 1016 and 1020.

¹¹³ Lappenberg, *History of England*, II. 202; Freeman, *Norman Conquest*, vol. I., app., note III; Liebermann, *Gesetze der Angelsachsen*, I. 278.

¹¹⁴ *Chronicle*, A. D. 1018.

¹¹⁵ Liebermann, *Gesetze der Angelsachsen*, I. 277. "... omnia debita quae Deo secundum legem antiquam debemus" (plough alms, tithe of animals born during the year, Peter's pence, tithe of fruits, and church-scot).

¹¹⁶ *Ibid.*, I. 290-293: I Cnut, 8, 1; 8, 2; 9; 9, 1; 10; 10, 1.

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of 1027, the Winchester *gemot* may have been held that year, but the probabilities are that nothing would be done just then to rouse the suspicion of Cnut's Norse allies. The conquest of Norway was completed in 1028 and the next year the king returned to England.¹¹⁷ It is therefore likely that Cnut's legislation belongs to the years 1029-1034.¹¹⁸

As narrative sources for the last few years of Cnut's reign are almost wholly wanting, we have no direct means of determining the character of his government for this period. There are indications, however, that during these closing years he was a king of the type that later tradition has described. With his two sons governing the dominions across the sea, he could now give his energies more wholly to English affairs. The dominant influences at his court at Winchester had doubtless by this time become more emphatically English, though it is evident from the charters that the Dane was never wholly displaced; Godwin and Leofric, Lifting and Ethelnoth, were now, perhaps, the men whose words weighed most in the royal council. We know from Cnut's legislation that the interests of Church and State were now more closely identified than at any time before.¹¹⁹ It may be that the English lords hoped to accentuate the position of their kingdom in the Empire of the North; it is evident from Godwin's activities after Cnut's death that he, at least, shared his former master's imperialistic ideas.¹²⁰ But that empire was already crumbling. The Scotch king had become Cnut's man, "but he kept his allegiance only a little while".¹²¹ In the North the Church, whose cause Cnut had at last made completely his own, struck the decisive blow. A year after the martyrdom of Olaf, the great missionary king was canonized by the Norse church.¹²² The Scandinavian peoples could now rejoice in the patronage of a native Northern saint; soon churches dedicated to Saint Olaf rose everywhere along the shores of the North and Baltic seas. The canonization of Saint Olaf was the ruin of Cnut's mighty plans. Even before the death of Cnut (1035), Magnus the Good, the son of the

¹¹⁷ *Chronicle*, A. D. 1028, 1029.

¹¹⁸ The prologue to the laws states that they were drawn up "at the holy mid-winter tide at Winchester". The latest possible date is therefore 1034, as Cnut died in November, 1035.

¹¹⁹ But with Cnut began the practice of elevating priests of the royal chapel to bishoprics, evidently for the purpose of bringing the Church more completely under royal control. See *Chronicle*, A. D. 1032; Larson, *King's Household*, pp. 140-142.

¹²⁰ Godwin appears to have favored the continued union of the Danish and English crowns. *Chronicle*, A. D. 1035, 1036, 1037.

¹²¹ *Ibid.* (D), A. D. 1031.

¹²² Snorre, *Saga of St. Olaf*, cc. 243 ff.

holy king, sat on the throne of Norway. During these years (1030-1035) a strange inactivity seems to have ruled at the English court. The cause may have been physical weakness on the part of the king,¹²³ or it may have been the restraining influence of the Church. But whatever the cause, we do not find that he made any effort to prevent the collapse of his empire.¹²⁴

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¹²³ Such is Steenstrup's conjecture. *Danmarks Riges Historie*, I. 405.

¹²⁴ English historians all represent Cnut as dying in the fullness of imperial power, the collapse coming soon after his death; this is manifestly an error; as has been stated above, his empire was largely a matter of history on the day of his death. For the English view, see Lappenberg, *History of England*, II. 223; Freeman, *Norman Conquest*, I. 322; Ramsay, *Foundations of England*, I. 419; Hunt and Poole, *Political History of England*, I. 417 (Hodgkin).

THE KING'S COUNCIL AND THE CHANCERY, II.

IN the previous chapter the relations of the council and the chancery were considered solely as regards the outline and structure of the courts. The subject may now be pursued further in the light of the cases for what may be revealed in matters of jurisdiction and procedure. These begin in the time when the council was wholly identified with the chancery, and afterwards continue in the privy seal department as well. From the time of this organic division, therefore, there are two branches of the original judicature, which remain necessarily very similar but with significant points of divergence.

As might be expected, the cases recorded in the chancery are by far the more complete and abundant. It was a practice of the fourteenth century to make enrollments of the most important ones with the letters close and patent, upon the calendars of which they are still accessible. But from the time of Richard II., whether because the rolls were too much encumbered, or because other means of keeping the records were more satisfactory, this usage almost disappears. The bundles of chancery proceedings which then begin are in a very faulty condition of preservation; so that for the fifteenth century, while petitions are to be found in great quantity,¹ records of the processes are scarce.

Of council cases distinct from the chancery there has been a still greater dearth, scarcely any being known prior to the time of Henry VII.² A number may be found, however, among the piles of miscellaneous parchments and papers of the Privy Seal Office.³ Characteristic of the methods of this office, these were briefly written, sparing of parchment, with no signs of arrangement, and with scant care as to their preservation. Not before the time of the Tudors

¹ Collections of chancery petitions are published in *Calendars of Proceedings in Chancery* (Record Com.), I.; Baildon, *Select Cases in Chancery*; William Salt Archaeological Society, *Collections of Staffordshire*, new series, VII. 340-393; *Archaeologia*, LIX. 1-24, LX. 353-378; Société Jersiaise, *Ancient Petitions of the Chancery and the Exchequer* (Jersey, 1902).

² Several cases between 1477 and 1487 have been collected in Leadam, *Select Cases in the Star Chamber*, Selden Society (London, 1903), XVI. 1-16.

³ These I have found especially in the newly compiled lists of the Warrants Privy Seal, series I., section II. Some which are still unlisted I have by favor been permitted to see. These I can only indicate as in the "Exchequer Box" or "Chancery Box".

apparently did the practice begin of throwing them together in bundles. Still for the earlier period they may be counted by hundreds, attesting a constant activity of the council in this direction. Most of them consist only of the petitions, upon which it was enough simply to endorse the judgments and orders of the council. A few, however, contain at one stage or another the hearings at length, and reveal more of the procedure of the council even than any of the contemporary chancery records. With the material, fragmentary as it is, from both sources a fairly complete view may be obtained of the judicature, which at first belonged alike to the council and the chancery, and which in time came to be divided between them.

A field of jurisdiction can hardly be defined at first. In general, from the reign of Henry III., suitors addressed petitions to the king or to the council by reason of their difficulties at common law. At this time the council did not regularly hear the cases but confined itself to directing the writs and processes which were to be followed in the ordinary courts. In this way the council was mainly a court of resort in questions of procedure. Even when the parties were summoned to appear their cases were generally committed to another court for trial. At times, it is true, the council sat in the exchequer and in the king's bench, but then it was not as a separate court. Such few cases as the council consented to hear were more likely because of the prominence of the parties and of the interests concerned than because of the nature of the litigation. Only as the courts of common law failed or proved inadequate did the council receive cases of certain kinds and become itself a court of special jurisdiction. In this regard there is no evidence that the council anticipated the wishes of the people.

The class of cases which came to have the greatest prominence includes the crimes of great violence, described as riots, armed attacks, unlawful assemblages, robberies, "heinous trespass", "misprision", abduction, and other evils familiarly associated with the practice of maintenance. Outrages such as these were far from uncommon throughout the fourteenth century, but for a long time only common-law remedies were applied. Petitioners generally asked for such, and the most vigorous actions taken were through the special commissions of *oyer et terminer*, which for a time were widely sought and employed.⁴ None of these methods were sufficient, however, against the wrongs of maintenance. Petitioners declare that they cannot sue at common law,⁵ that they dare not pur-

⁴ Calendars, *passim*; *Rotuli Parliamentorum*, I. 290.

⁵ Ancient Petitions, no. 10626.

sue even by *oyer et terminer*,⁶ that officers are in collusion with wrongdoers,⁷ that sheriffs refuse to serve writs,⁸ that bailiffs will not arrest,⁹ and that juries are controlled.¹⁰ In the reign of Edward III. plaintiffs in the greatest distress began to ask for hearings before the council rather than before the commissions.¹¹ Even then the cases were more frequently committed to *oyer et terminer* processes, until in the reign of Richard II. this jurisdiction was plainly assumed by the council¹² and even ascribed to it.¹³ From this time the number of such cases increases beyond all estimation. At the beginning of Henry VI.'s reign there is mention of a special file of "riot bills" in a single session of Parliament.¹⁴ It is noteworthy that the early petitions to the chancellor, already described, were mainly burdened with grievances and appeals of this nature. Indeed at that time this jurisdiction belonged to the chancery as positively as to the council.

A group of cases, which was somewhat earlier than the former to be received by the council as requiring an extraordinary jurisdiction, may be classified as those of *fraud*. Of these many relating to forged charters,¹⁵ false claims,¹⁶ counterfeit money,¹⁷ covin and procurement,¹⁸ covenants extorted under duress,¹⁹ malicious indictments,²⁰ and others of the kind were consistently heard by the council in chancery under Edward III. A good illustration is found in a case in which a deaf and dumb girl was proved to have been imposed upon by guardians who obtained from her a fraudulent enfeoffment.²¹ That jurisdiction of this kind properly belonged to the chancellor and council was further declared by the statutes assigning to them crimes of misdemeanors in office²² and false accusations,²³

⁶ Ancient Petitions, no. 12298.

⁷ *Ibid.*, no. 15200.

⁸ *Ibid.*, no. 14969.

⁹ *Ibid.*, no. 15200.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, no. 12824.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, nos. 12298, 12549, 13443.

¹² In 21 Rich. II. a commission was asked for but the council heard the case. *Ibid.*, no. 13111.

¹³ *Rot. Parl.*, III. 21.

¹⁴ Early Chancery Proceedings, bundle 5, no. 41.

¹⁵ *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 22 Edw. III., p. 131; *Cal. Close Rolls*, 24 Edw. III., p. 225; *Close Roll*, 42 Edw. III., m. 8 d.

¹⁶ Unlisted document, petition of Hamon Lestineur, "Exchequer Box".

¹⁷ *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 24 Edw. III., p. 595.

¹⁸ Ancient Petitions, nos. 11302, 12264, 12287, 14937.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, nos. 11028, 15149.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, no. 15571.

²¹ *Close Roll*, 49 Edw. III., m. 13 d.

²² Statutes, 20 Edw. III., c. 6; 36 Edw. III., c. 9.

²³ *Ibid.*, 37 Edw. III., c. 18; 38 Edw. III., c. 9; 42 Edw. III., c. 3; 17 Rich. II., c. 6.

of which there were a number of instances.²⁴ It was in the fraud cases, many of which were intangible to the common law,²⁵ that the special procedure of the council may first be observed. Requiring the inspection of documents and the searching of records, this jurisdiction was properly inherited by the later court of chancery, whose clerks were the acknowledged experts in these matters.

A class of cases considered to be above the jurisdiction of the ordinary courts were those especially affecting the king's interest and dignity. Among these were charges of treason, conspiracy,²⁶ espionage,²⁷ evasion of the customs,²⁸ and contempt. Arraignments for contempt were incurred by defying the orders of a court or a prohibition of the king, or by pursuing litigation contrary to an existing judgment.²⁹ The royal rights too in ecclesiastical presentations, particularly when there were collisions between those having claims from the pope and those from the king, gave rise to an indefinite number of disputes.³⁰ Certain free chapels of the king, for instance, were declared to be exempt from the authority of all other courts.³¹ Many of the cases were anterior to the statutes of provisions and *praemunire*, which recognized and strengthened the jurisdiction thus assumed.³² It was the king's right also by a prohibition or other form of order to reserve cases for hearing before the council.³³

Another group, which may be explained as arising outside the area of the common law, may be designated as maritime and international. Seizures at sea, piracies, shipping claims,³⁴ questions of wreck³⁵ and contraband,³⁶ were among the earliest to require spe-

²⁴ Chesterfield case, Close Roll, 39 Edw. III., mm. 26-23.

²⁵ Ancient Petitions, no. 12168, 22 Edw. III., is an instance in which a charter, which was being used in a case pending before the king's bench, was proved a forgery before the king and council.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, no. 15119.

²⁷ *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 22 Edw. III., p. 151.

²⁸ Ancient Petitions, no. 14915; *Cal. Close Rolls*, 21 Edw. III., p. 241.

²⁹ These are very numerous. *Cal. Close Rolls*, 17 Edw. III., p. 265; *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 15 Edw. III., p. 548, 18 Edw. III., p. 284, 22 Edw. III., pp. 66, 165, 23 Edw. III., pp. 315, 317, etc.

³⁰ Ancient Petitions, nos. 14898, 15074; *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 20 Edw. III., p. 229, 23 Edw. III., *passim*.

³¹ For example, Bosham, *Cal. Close Rolls*, 29 Edw. III., p. 157, 30 Edw. III., p. 288; Hammepreston, Ancient Petitions, no. 15074.

³² Statutes, 27 Edw. III., c. 1; 38 Edw. III., cc. 2 and 3; 16 Rich. II., c. 5.

³³ Bosham case; and *Cal. Close Rolls*, 32 Edw. III., p. 540; *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 8 Rich. II., p. 462.

³⁴ *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 23 Edw. III., pp. 83, 319; *Cal. Close Rolls*, 23 Edw. III., p. 65, 26 Edw. III., p. 425; Close Roll, 39 Edw. III., m. 5, etc.; Ancient Petitions, nos. 14930, 15124, 15155.

³⁵ Ancient Petitions, no. 14955.

³⁶ *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 20 Edw. III., p. 135; *Cal. Close Rolls*, 32 Edw. III., p. 384.

cial treatment, and by the reign of Richard II. were extensive enough to give rise to a new jurisdiction under the admiral.³⁷ Analogous to these were disputes in which foreigners, especially merchants, were involved. It was by special favor that the king opened his court to a foreigner.³⁸

By the king's grace also the council and the chancellor were accessible to suitors who, from poverty or legal disability, were unable to sue elsewhere. Petitioners humbly representing themselves as "your poor clerk", "your simple and poor wax-chandler",³⁹ "poor tenants", "poor mariners", or as "reduced to poverty and misery" had a special claim to attention which was recognized in various ordinances.⁴⁰ A plaintiff who as a married woman would have had no standing in an ordinary court was heard in the noted Audeley case, wherein a wife makes a claim based on a pre-marital covenant which her husband's family was unwilling to carry out.⁴¹ The field of special jurisdiction, therefore, was wide and well established before the special equity cases of uses, contracts, and injunctions began to be received in the fifteenth century.⁴²

The growth of this extraordinary jurisdiction was always regarded with jealousy and dislike by the lawyers and by Parliament, who nevertheless accepted it as necessary and inevitable. But the further tendency to encroach upon the sphere of the ordinary courts, hearing cases "touching the common law", was energetically resisted and caused a continuous struggle in Parliament, marked by perpetual complaints and intermittent attempts at restrictive legislation. In the twenty-fifth year of Edward III. the Commons demanded that no man should answer for his freehold or for matters of life and limb before the council, but the king consented to the restriction only as regards freeholds.⁴³ This limitation the council was to some extent careful to observe, returning a number of cases for this reason to the common-law courts,⁴⁴ not to the

³⁷ Marsden, *Select Pleas in the Court of Admiralty*, Selden Society, VI. (London, 1892). An early instance of a case before the admiral and council occurs in 26 Edw. III. *Cal. Close Rolls*, p. 425.

³⁸ Ancient Petitions, nos. 13056 (from a poor man of Rouen), 10449 (from an alien prior, *temp.* Edw. III.). The lord of Enghien to clear himself of a charge against him in Flanders came before the king and council. *Cal. Close Rolls*, 25 Edw. III., p. 351. Also a case of the Duchess of Guelders is in Ancient Petitions, no. 12352.

³⁹ Ancient Petitions, no. 15145.

⁴⁰ *Proceedings of the Privy Council*, III. 150, 217.

⁴¹ Close Roll, 40 Edw. III., m. 15; 41 Edw. III., m. 13.

⁴² Holmes, "Early English Equity" in *Select Essays* (ed. Wigmore, Cambridge, 1908), II. 705-736.

⁴³ *Rot. Parl.*, II. 228.

⁴⁴ Ancient Petitions, nos. 12289, 12299.

satisfaction of Parliament, however, for the act was repeated under Richard II.⁴⁵ In spite of much subsequent legislation this law remained the only restriction of definite character which the Parliament ever succeeded in making. Complaints against the special writs and processes were unavailing, while ordinances, re-enacted with great persistence, to the effect that matters touching the common law should be determined in the ordinary way, with a usual saving clause, "unless it were against such high personages that right could not be obtained elsewhere",⁴⁶ or as again expressed, "unless there be too much might on the one side and too much unmight on the other",⁴⁷ were indefinite and left the discretionary power of the council undiminished. A characteristic fitful action, of no enduring effect, occurred after the fall of Richard II., when all cases of this nature pending before the council were quashed and turned over to the common law.⁴⁸

Any distinction between the jurisdiction exercised by the chancellor and by that reserved to the council was slow to appear. At the time of Richard II. there was none.⁴⁹ Appeals to the chancellor on whatever subjects were made primarily to gain a hearing, and cases of violence were as likely to be brought to him⁵⁰ as were trust cases a little later before the council.⁵¹ The first usage which was at all consistently observed cannot be predicated prior to the reign of Henry VI., namely that violence cases belonged to the council. Parliament turns its file of riot petitions over to the council,⁵² and again a petition on violence though addressed to the chancellor is heard *coram consilio*.⁵³ On the other hand, land controversies were brought more to the chancellor, so that by the reign of Edward IV. certainly most of the petitions addressed to him were on disputed property claims.⁵⁴ If one were to assign a reason it would be that while great criminal trials required the power and expedition of the privy seal procedure, claims to title sought the security afforded by the instruments of the great seal. No clearer

⁴⁵ *Rot. Parl.*, III. 21, 323.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, III. 21.

⁴⁷ *Proceedings of the Privy Council*, I. 18 a, III. 214; *Rot. Parl.*, III. 446, IV. 201 b, 343.

⁴⁸ *Rot. Parl.*, III. 446.

⁴⁹ In this I dissent from Mr. Baildon's opinion that the council's jurisdiction from the beginning was mainly criminal. *Select Cases in Chancery*, Selden Society (London, 1896), p. xvi.

⁵⁰ Chancery petitions already quoted.

⁵¹ *Proceedings of the Privy Council*, II. 328.

⁵² Early Chancery Proceedings, bundle 5, no. 41.

⁵³ Unlisted document in "Exchequer Box", marked 104/4.

⁵⁴ See collections mentioned p. 744, n. 1.

distinction than this, however, was made prior to the statute *pro camera stellata* of Henry VII.

More distinct than the realm of jurisdiction were the methods of procedure which gave the council its advantage over the common law. In the earliest cases, whether in the exchequer or the chancery, no divergence from the common law is shown; but under the chancellors, assisted no doubt by other bishops and by certain doctors of civil law who were at various times retained in the council,⁵⁵ there appear in time the influences of the canon law. Certain features were directly derived from the practice of the ecclesiastical courts, while other forms entirely peculiar were developed. Yet so late as the reign of Henry V. traces of common-law procedure have been shown to be confused with that of equity.⁵⁶ Here again the council and the chancery, while following many usages in common, were different in certain essential respects.

The beginning of all special procedure, it is understood, lay in the petitions already mentioned, by which suitors applied for remedy which they could not obtain in the normal way. As petitioners themselves sometimes declared, having sought relief in vain, they could only proceed by complaint.⁵⁷ Written at first in French and later in English, the very form of the petitions suggests a departure from the ordinary legal procedure. In nearly all of the cases at first the most that was required was an order as to the necessary writs and processes to be pursued. Only as the council received or committed cases did the petition or "bill", as it was also called, become the basis of litigation. This was known as "procedure by bill", in distinction from that by original writ. As the petitions readily numbered by the thousands,⁵⁸ elaborate arrangements were made for receiving them. They were properly presented to the chancellor or other minister, when at each session of Parliament hearers or triers of petitions were appointed for dealing with them.⁵⁹ The greater bulk of the bills no doubt were always handled by these committees, who endorsed them with the necessary directions. For

⁵⁵ My article, *English Historical Review* (1908), XXIII. 1-14.

⁵⁶ Pike, *Law Quarterly Review*, I. 445-453.

⁵⁷ Lucy Langton (*temp.* Edw. III.) declares that on coming to London she was detained and robbed. She asks the chancellor to have the parties brought before him, as she has nothing in the common law to defend her. *Ancient Petitions*, no. 15011.

⁵⁸ A thorough investigation of the 16,000 petitions contained in the files of *Ancient Petitions* has never been made. Besides these there are many hundreds in other files, particularly in the Warrants Privy Seal. The difficulty of identifying them in regard to date is of course very great.

⁵⁹ As to the hearers and triers of petitions a good account is given in Hale, *Jurisdiction of the Lords' House*, ch. XII.

treating the bills left over from Parliament and those received at other times, the council was the principal agency, which likewise was overburdened with the work. It was pressure of business primarily which caused the differentiation of chancery petitions already described, by which an advantage was gained that they were not brought to Parliament. At about the same time another differentiation appears in the form of petitions addressed to the lords of Parliament,⁶⁰ which are thereby distinguished from council petitions.⁶¹

In spite of all other agencies the attention of the council was still so much taken with the hearing of petitions that higher interests were endangered. Ordinances were made that the business of the king and the realm should have the precedence,⁶² that petitions of the people might be considered in the presence of a limited number,⁶³ that Wednesdays should be especially reserved for the hearing of petitions,⁶⁴ that the petition of the poorest suitor should be considered first.⁶⁵ The council in fact could not read all of the bills brought to it, on one occasion, at the close of a term, ordering that the determination of all petitions remaining unheard should be committed to the lord chancellor and the chancery.⁶⁶ To obtain the attention of the council suitors sought still other avenues of approach, in some instances addressing their petitions not only to the chancellor, to the treasurer, to the steward of the household,⁶⁷ but also to other prominent councillors like the Duke of Lancaster,⁶⁸ the Earl of March,⁶⁹ the Duke of Exeter,⁷⁰ the Duke of Albemarle,⁷¹ the Duke of Bedford,⁷² and the Duke of Gloucester.⁷³ An expedient

⁶⁰ The earliest petition of this kind which I have been able to find is that of Sir Hugh Wrottesley to the Duke of Lancaster and other lords of Parliament, in 1 Richard II. Ancient Petitions, quoted in *Collections of Staffordshire*, new series, VI. 148. See also *Rot. Parl.*, III. 60 b, *et seq.*

⁶¹ *Rot. Parl.*, III. 163.

⁶² *Proceedings of the Privy Council*, I. 18 a.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, I. 18 b.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, III. 149, 214.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, III. 150, 217.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, III. 36.

⁶⁷ One c. 1371 is addressed "au noble et puissantz Seigneur Monsieur Henry le Scrop et as sages conseulx notre Seigneur le Roi". Ancient Correspondence, vol. L., no. 146.

⁶⁸ "A tresreverent et treshonorable Seigneur le Roi de Chastill et Duc de Lancastre et a tressage conseil notre Seigneur le Roi." Ancient Petitions, nos. 10406, 12595, 12596.

⁶⁹ An unlisted document.

⁷⁰ Warrants Privy Seal, series I., section II., file 3.

⁷¹ Unlisted.

⁷² Warrants Privy Seal, series I., section II., *passim*.

⁷³ *Ibid.*

more often tried was for suitors in some way to secure the interest of one or another of the councillors in their petitions, who signed their names as sponsors upon the bills.⁷⁴ Members of the council were importuned for their influence, and to such an extent was there opened the way for favoritism that one of the most reiterated ordinances was that councillors should grant no favors to suitors but should only answer that their petitions would be seen by all of the council and answered.⁷⁵ A rule was made also that the bills which were considered by the council on a Wednesday should be returned to the petitioners on the following Friday.⁷⁶

As a large number of the complaints consisted of criminal charges the way was opened for all kinds of false and malicious accusations. Against this evil there was the act of Edward III., several times repeated, requiring that accusers offer security to prove their suggestions.⁷⁷ In the *plegi de prosequendo*, as the pledges were termed, this law was observed with fair consistency⁷⁸ in the council as well as in other courts. But as the council became the great tribunal for state cases, it was also open to secret information known as suggestions or depositions.⁷⁹ Bills were even offered anonymously, one suggesting that a writ of summons be directed to a man,⁸⁰ another naming a certain monk who was pointed out as a spy.⁸¹ There is also, in the reign of Richard II., an extensive pamphlet of anonymous origin, making wide and indefinite charges against the unpopular Alexander Neville, archbishop of York, suggesting that he should be arraigned for his extortions, maintenances, and tyrannies.⁸² It is likely too that secret suggestions were largely unwritten. The council encouraged information of this kind, on one occasion offering a reward to those reporting evasions of the customs,⁸³ and again giving assurances that the informers would

⁷⁴ *Proceedings of the Privy Council*, I. 35, 72, 78, etc.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, III. 149, 214; IV. 60.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, III. 149, 214.

⁷⁷ Statutes, 37 Edw. III., c. 18; 38 Edw. III., c. 9; 42 Edw. III., c. 3; 17 Rich. II., c. 6.

⁷⁸ Baildon, *op. cit.*, p. xxv.

⁷⁹ Statutes above mentioned.

⁸⁰ Ancient Petitions, no. 14948.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, no. 15176.

⁸² "The comunes of Ingelonde werfor blame the Kyng and his conseil of the unhappe and disese and myschief of the Reaume . . . Were Kynge Alisaundre wel examyned of his extorciones and his meyntenances and his tyrrantrie of that he hath take falsly ageyne the Kynges lawes he shuld leve for ever the Kynges lx. mil. li." Parliamentary Proceedings (Chancery), file 9, no. 22. For this reference I am indebted to Mr. Charles Johnson.

⁸³ "Quicumque ad nos et consilium nostrum volentes accedere ad nos et consilium nostrum informandum habunt pro labore suo sufficiens rewardum." Close Roll, 10 Rich. II., m. 15 d.

be heard.⁸⁴ In the reign of Henry IV. a deposition of this character is found in which one William Stokes, declaring it to be the duty of every loyal subject to safeguard the honor and profit of the crown, informs the council of certain illegal exportations of wool and skins.⁸⁵ Whether for this or other services the informer was not without reward.⁸⁶

Next in order were the writs of summons and arrest to bring parties before the council. In this respect as in others there was at first nothing extraordinary in the council's procedure. From the reign of Edward I. were used the ordinary writs both of the exchequer and the chancery, among which are recognized the *monstravit*, the *scire facias*, and the *venire facias*. Another mode of compelling attendance was to make some one responsible, *corps pour corps*, for the appearance of a party on a certain day. It was a marked advance in point of procedure, when in the reign of Edward III. certain writs of summons, especially adapted for the purposes of the council and the chancery, were framed; namely the *praemunire*, the *quibusdam certis de causis*, and the *sub poena*.⁸⁷ These differed from any corresponding instruments of the common law in their summary character. They specified no reasons, they demanded the presence of parties for certain causes, and for disobedience made a threat, which in the more extensively used subpoenas was stated in the form of a fixed money penalty. Issued under the king's seal, they were generally unrestricted in penetrating franchised districts,⁸⁸ they superseded any commissions or rights to the contrary, and were calculated to command an obedience such as the orders of no other court could. Without the sanction of Parliament they could hardly claim legal character, and so were never registered. Although these writs were originally devised in the chancery and issued under the great seal, they were subsequently sent forth almost entirely under the privy seal, not only for summons to the council but to the chancery as well.⁸⁹ In addition to all that has been said concerning the usages of the privy seal, a marked

⁸⁴ Close Roll, 12 Rich. II., m. 19 d.

⁸⁵ British Museum, Cotton MS., Galba BI, nos. 23, 24.

⁸⁶ *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 1 and 2 Hen. IV., pp. 322, 431.

⁸⁷ An adequate description of these writs is given in Palgrave, *Original Authority*, pp. 40-41.

⁸⁸ In regard to the duchy of Lancaster and other liberties having a chancellor, letters of the great seal were commanded to be issued through their own chanceries. Statutes, 31 Hen. VI.

⁸⁹ On this point Palgrave is quite misleading, speaking of the privy seal writs as though they were different from the *sub poena* (*op. cit.*, p. 86). This writ was the same under either seal, in the French form being designated as *le brief sur certain peine*.

advantage afforded by the later method in regard to the writs is seen in the fact that whereas letters of the great seal were regularly delivered through the agency of the sheriffs, those of the privy seal were carried by *pursuivants* or special messengers directly to the parties addressed.⁹⁰ In fear of the sheriffs, who were likely to be in league with their enemies, plaintiffs therefore asked for "writs direct". So essential a part of the council procedure were the writs considered that it was for them specifically that suitors prayed, and against them that the opposition in Parliament was directed. They were incorrectly stigmatized as a novelty, which had never been known before the time of Richard II.⁹¹ It was further urged, without success, that the cause and matter of the suit be put into the writs and that they be enrolled and made patent without being returned.⁹² They were still regarded as at least extra-legal when, in the thirty-first year of Henry VI., under stress of the great disorders of Jack Cade's rebellion they were temporarily legitimized in riot cases only.⁹³ In accordance with the statute then enacted it was claimed that the writs should contain the words *de riottis*.⁹⁴ With all of their cogency, however, such was the lawlessness of the times that in the later years of Henry VI. the evasion and defiance of the king's writs was acknowledged to be very general,⁹⁵ and one finds the subpoenas returned with explanations that the parties would not receive them, that they absented themselves and could not be found.⁹⁶

At the time appointed it is described as customary for the name of the party to be cried at the door of the council chamber.⁹⁷ A feature of canon-law procedure introduced by the chancellor at an early date was the swearing of the parties, both plaintiffs and defendants, upon the Gospels to tell the truth,⁹⁸ who were thereby

⁹⁰ Frequent payments to such messengers are found in the Issue Rolls, *passim*.

⁹¹ *Rot. Parl.*, IV. 84 a.

⁹² *Ibid.*

⁹³ Statutes, 31 Hen. VI., c. 2.

⁹⁴ One party was successful in resisting a summons because it did not contain the words *de riottis*, as authorized by Parliament. Certain six articles, 35 Hen. VI., "Exchequer Box".

⁹⁵ Statutes, 31 Hen. VI., c. 2.

⁹⁶ Unlisted documents. One of 35 Hen. VI. contains six articles testifying that the writs privy seal which were issued in accordance with the statute of the thirty-first year, were of no avail in summoning the parties.

⁹⁷ One of the returned writs under Henry VI. bears the following statement: "vocatus in dictis Octavis ad Hostium camere prout moris est non comperuit." Unlisted document, "Chancery Box". Of the time of Richard II., it is once said, "solemniter vocatus non venit." Ancient Petitions, no. 11059.

⁹⁸ Parties were "iurez et examinez en la chauncellerie" about the first year of Edward III. Ancient Petitions, nos. 10608, 10640; also Close Roll, 12 Rich. II., m. 19 d; Warrants Privy Seal, series I., section 11., file 3, etc.

placed at the disadvantage of testifying against themselves. By an early confession⁹⁹ or by an accord¹⁰⁰ which the litigants were frequently advised to make, the case might be ended at once. The parties further committed themselves by making submission to the court, *in alto et basso*, agreeing to abide by its decision. Since no one could well be bound by an extra-legal procedure against his will, this act was essential, it being once declared that without the submission the trial could not go on.¹⁰¹ In criminal cases a very frequent action in the chancery, where a record could be made, was that of *mainprise*, which might be either a preliminary or a final step. This was to place the parties under bond and surety, guaranteed by *mainpernors*, to keep the peace for a certain time or to appear at a certain day.¹⁰² Sometimes the amounts were as high as £5000 or £10,000. As a deterrent against false accusations plaintiffs were also bonded to prove their complaints.¹⁰³ Failing to furnish bonds, men were sent to prison whether under conviction or not. It was once declared to be a hardship that in order to find security parties were induced even to compound with their enemies.¹⁰⁴

At any of its stages the case might be committed for trial and decision to another court, but if it was heard at length by the council the procedure was somewhat as follows. The hearing was opened with the reading of the bill, when in civil actions an adjournment was taken to allow the defendant time to prepare his case, which he might do with the aid of counsel.¹⁰⁵ All matters of evidence so far as possible the council preferred to have in writing.¹⁰⁶ The answers of defendants were given written form even in the reign of Edward III.,¹⁰⁷ and in the fifteenth century were regularly prepared in this manner together with replications and

⁹⁹ In one instance a clerk accused of falsifying a record on being spoken to before the council acknowledged his act. *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 22 Edw. III., p. 113.

¹⁰⁰ In a case of 22 Rich. II. the parties were commanded to treat and make an end themselves if they could accord. Ancient Petitions, no. 12549.

¹⁰¹ Audeley case, Close Roll, 40 Edw. III., m. 15; 41 Edw. III., m. 13.

¹⁰² Close Rolls, Edw. III. and later.

¹⁰³ Statutes mentioned on false suggestions. An instance is in Close Roll, 51 Edw. III., m. 6 d.

¹⁰⁴ *Rot. Parl.*, IV. 84 a.

¹⁰⁵ Defendant takes a copy of the charges that he might reply with the aid of counsel. Ancient Petitions, no. 13111.

¹⁰⁶ It seems that complaints were not always presented in writing. Thus in the reign of Henry V. a plaintiff was directed to put her grievances in written form. *Proceedings of the Privy Council*, II. 286.

¹⁰⁷ In the Spynk case, "respondit in forma que sequitur." Patent Roll, 38 Edw. III., pt. I., m. 15.

rejoinders.¹⁰⁸ A counter-petition was sometimes offered by the defendant.¹⁰⁹ Suitors were instructed to be fully informed as to their contentions and were likely to bring charters, letters, and other instruments. Other than the parties immediately concerned, witnesses were rarely summoned, although in a few instances they do appear.¹¹⁰ Matters of evidence from outside sources were regularly obtained by writs of *certiorari* or of inquisition, directing sheriffs to employ juries, the courts and other authorities to search their records and return the information.

In criminal cases if the facts could not be determined by any of the simpler methods, resort was taken to the most drastic means within the power of the council, namely, the inquisitorial examination. The practice of putting the parties, particularly the defendant, to the task of answering questions under oath was directly borrowed from the ecclesiastical courts.¹¹¹ While nothing was more antagonistic to the practice of the common-law courts,¹¹² this method proves to have been not unknown also in the exchequer.¹¹³ From the accusations or depositions of the plaintiff questions of fact were drawn up in a series of articles and addressed to the defendant, whose answers were noted.¹¹⁴ Any discrepancies or self-contradictions in his admissions were quickly turned to his disadvantage and were likely to cause him to break down and confess,¹¹⁵ while if there were more than one defendant examined inconsistencies in the testimony were all the more probable. Although the examinations were assailed as a subversion of the common law, in an age when the art of cross-questioning was unknown in the regular courts, the need nevertheless of the Star Chamber procedure is manifest. That the examinations were held in secret and "without any record or entry", was another objection expressed in Parlia-

¹⁰⁸ A notably early instance of a replication is found in 24 Henry VI.: "Replicatio Martini et Stephani contra responsionem Johannis Gubbe". Diplomatic Documents, Chancery, no. 525.

¹⁰⁹ John Cheyne v. William Brian, 13 Rich. II., unlisted in "Exchequer Box".

¹¹⁰ In a case of an erroneous writ a clerk whose name was on the writ was brought in and questioned. Close Roll, 12 Rich. II., m. 19 d; also Baildon, *op. cit.*, nos. 95, 126; *Calendars of Proceedings in Chancery*, vol. I., pp. xix, li, etc.

¹¹¹ *Cal. Close Rolls*, 30 Edw. I., p. 565, 24 Edw. III., p. 225; Close Rolls, 39 Edw. III., m. 26, 49 Edw. III., m. 40 d; Patent Roll, 40 Edw. III., pt. I., m. 11, etc.

¹¹² "Solonc la fourme de ley cyvyle et ley de Sainte Esglise, en subvercion de votre commune ley." *Rot. Parl.*, IV. 84 a.

¹¹³ Memoranda Roll, L. T. R., 28 Edw. III., m. 28; transcribed in Putnam, *Enforcement of the Statutes of Labourers* (New York, 1908), app., p. 290.

¹¹⁴ See articles of accusation in Chesterfield case, Close Roll, 39 Edw. III., mm. 26-23.

¹¹⁵ *Ibid.*

ment.¹¹⁶ They were, however, already under Edward III. in written form, as is indicated in one case by the mention of a roll containing the articles handed to the chancellor.¹¹⁷

As an illustration of this procedure there is a remarkable privy seal record of a typical Star Chamber case which was heard in the seventeenth year of Henry VI.¹¹⁸ Attached to a petition is a small roll or fold of paper, written by the clerk of the council, containing the articles of examination with the answers of the defendants concerning the recent Bedford riot.¹¹⁹ Unlike chancery cases the record is in English. Four of the king's justices of the peace and of *oyer et terminer* had certified that Lord Fanhope with forty-five armed men invaded their court in riotous manner, insulting the judges and breaking up the session. Thereupon Lord Fanhope, who was placed under fine and security, addressed a petition to the king, denying the truth of the charges and asking that an examination be made. The petition was referred to the council, who proceeded to examine the justices on oath in a manner that was said to be severe. The questions consisted of nine articles on the matters of fact contained in their former allegations, as to the number of men, as to the conduct of his lordship, as to their own conduct, and the like. These were addressed in turn to each of the four defendants, and their answers taken. When upon subsequent perusal certain discrepancies in their assertions were found, especially in comparing the answers with the original certification, the judges, though still maintaining the truth of their charges, were forced to admit that they had been moved by motives of anger and malice. The council, therefore, found the charges false and so must have reported to the king, who then commanded the chancellor by a letter of the privy seal to issue a patent of pardon and release for Lord Fanhope. For a record which his lordship desired, this was enrolled after the manner of the chancery with a brief summary of the case.¹²⁰ The council would seem to have dealt leniently with the lord, as to whose conduct in breaking up the court the essential facts were not denied, but it was considered that he had not been without excuse.

¹¹⁶ *Rot. Parl.*, IV. 84 a.

¹¹⁷ Chesterfield case, *supra*.

¹¹⁸ "The kings counsaillours examined the persones whoos names here on follow upon the Ryot that was doo at Bedford the XII^e day of Januar the yere above seid." Unlisted document, "Exchequer Box".

¹¹⁹ "Hi sunt articuli examinationum quattuor partium sequentium infrascriptarum videlicet . . . et responsiones ad eosdem articulos." *Ibid*. One-half the manuscript is torn away but what remains is enough to give a clear observation of the proceedings.

¹²⁰ *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 17 Hen. VI., p. 246.

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The examinations being the most laborious and technical part of the procedure, it is plain that not many could be held before the council at such length. On one occasion, when an examination was pending, the lords declared that under the many burdens imposed upon them they could not go on with it.¹²¹ Already in the reign of Edward III. the practice of committing inspections and examinations to certain members, or to the chancellor alone, had begun.¹²² Inspections of documents could be left to the chancery clerks.¹²³ The appointment of committees of examination for civil as well as criminal cases came to be a regular practice, of the council more than of the chancery, during the fifteenth century. A number of the justices were usually included, who were declared to be so much occupied in this way as to be kept from their ordinary duties of hearing pleas.¹²⁴

Among the few existing records of such examinations is a noteworthy one of the thirteenth year of Richard II. which explains itself by the following notes: "Les nouns de ceux qi feurent deputez par les conseil du Roy pur examiner [les matires] comprise deinz ceste bille et autres evidences purposeez", etc. The names follow. Later, "le dit conte [of Northumberland] par lui et par les deputez susditz fesoit relation au conseil du Roy qe", etc.¹²⁵ As the foregoing note suggests, the committee was to make a report or "relation" to the council of its findings. The council was likely to act and might even agree to act in accordance with the report.¹²⁶ The final relation too might be waived, when the parties were induced to submit to the verdict of the committee.¹²⁷ To a great extent the committees of examination superseded the older method of delegation to commissions of *oyer et terminer*,¹²⁸ a change which possessed certain manifest advantages over the earlier method. Whereas the commissions followed the common-law procedure, the

¹²¹ "Propter varia et ardua eis per dictum dominum Regem injuncta negocia intendere minime potuerunt." The examination was committed to a bishop and a lay member. *Proceedings of the Privy Council*, I. 190-192.

¹²² The king caused further examination to be made by some of his council. *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 22 Edw. III., p. 131.

¹²³ Ancient Petitions, no. 10608.

¹²⁴ *Rot. Parl.*, IV. 84 a.

¹²⁵ An unfiled document in the "Exchequer Box". See also one of 4 Hen. IV.

¹²⁶ *Proceedings of the Privy Council*, I. 192.

¹²⁷ There is an instance in which the parties agreed to accept the judgment of the justices, but afterwards one of them wished a decree of the council. *Proceedings of the Privy Council*, II. 333-335; also *ibid.*, III. 165.

¹²⁸ The commissions were by no means abandoned. There is an instance in which a complaint, having been examined by certain lords and justices of the council, was delivered to a commission of *oyer et terminer*. *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 16 Hen. VI., p. 199.

committees exercised the special powers of the council, and while the former were assigned to render final judgments, the latter reserved this prerogative to the council.

With these agencies of assistance, in most instances no doubt all that took place in the council was a reading or "rehearsal" of the case, sometimes rendered by the chancellor, as contained in the various written forms which have been described. As was once expressed in the appointment of a commission of inquiry, upon their report nothing should remain for the council but to render judgment.¹²⁹ If there were points for discussion these were most easily dealt with when drawn up in a succinct series of articles, which could be discussed and decided one by one.¹³⁰ In questions of law the justices were commonly summoned or otherwise communicated with for their advice. Indeed it was repeatedly enjoined by ordinances of Parliament¹³¹ that the lords of the council should not decide legal questions without the aid of the justices. Consultation also with the king as expressed by the words *loquendum est cum rege*, might be made before the final decision. In the council this action was required only as the case was one in which the king was interested, but for a decree in chancery it was always necessary, if for no other reason than to obtain a warrant for the use of the great seal; whereas the privy seal could be used by council authority without further warrant. The final judgment or decree was the one essential matter which must be written in the court. In privy seal cases this was regularly inscribed by the clerk upon the back of the bill; in chancery cases the clerks with greater formality took separate membranes upon which to write a longer review. At this time endorsements were rarely made in chancery cases. In no particular is the distinction between the two courts more clearly drawn than in this technical point. In the reign of Richard II. the names of the councillors present were added by the clerk, and later appear as signatures. The various parchments and papers were then sewn together to constitute the "record and process". Few survive, however, in their original condition. From this record an "exemplification" or abstract upon the rolls of the chancery might be ordered, as was done for instance in the Fanhope case, for in the Privy Seal Office no enrollments of judicial decisions were made.

¹²⁹ *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 26 Edw. I., p. 384.

¹³⁰ Close Roll, 40 Edw. III., m. 6 d; an unlisted document, 13 Rich. II., "Exchequer Box".

¹³¹ *Proceedings of the Privy Council*, II. 80, III. 151, 313, IV. 63; *Rot. Parl.*, IV. 506, V. 408 b, etc.

The council and the chancery were in a word courts of summary jurisdiction, proceeding in the words of the canonists *simpliciter et de plano ac sine strepitu et figura judicii*. As such they were appealed to by suitors against the notorious delays of the common law. "To make an end as speedily as possible", "to ordain hasty remedy", to give justice "without delay", were the desire expressed in many petitions. In the main this reputation was deserved, for while the council was difficult of access its cases once taken up were terminated in the shortest time. Thus an unusually extended case, begun on November 7 and continued with several adjournments, was ended on December 18,¹³² while the longest duration of a litigation which the writer has observed lasted from July 9 till April 30.¹³³ Still one reads of cases postponed from day to day, partly heard or not heard at all, for the reason that the lords of the council were otherwise occupied.¹³⁴ This was, to repeat, a reason for the separate growth of the court of chancery. It is probable too that great masses of petitions, particularly those seeking relief against the notorious oppressions of the fifteenth century, were not dealt with at all,¹³⁵ and that this was a reason why the Star Chamber though continuously operative was unable to cope with the disorders of the time.

Another reason for the inefficiency of the council in this respect seems to lie in a certain timidity and leniency with which it dealt with the greatest offenders. Criminals who could not give security were sent to prison, but men who were rich enough readily found surety, and even from this through channels of favor they too often obtained release. Bondsmen or *mainpernors* no sooner gave security than they were likely to ask to have their obligations cancelled.¹³⁶ Moreover, lesser men had small chance in a struggle, when in order to find bonds they must even treat and accord with their enemies.¹³⁷ The weakness of the government also in enforcing obedience to the writs has already been mentioned. Not until a more vigorous policy was operative and a new differentiation of the council was made did the Star Chamber exert its full powers.

¹³² Case 16 Rich. II., Warrants Privy Seal, series I., section II., file 3.

¹³³ Spynk case, Patent Roll, 38 Edw. III., pt. I., m. 15.

¹³⁴ "De diebus in dies continue, quia prefati domini aliunde sic protunc occupati quod circa finalem decisionem prefatam litem non poterant." *Proceedings of the Privy Council*, II. 321; III. 36.

¹³⁵ I infer this from the fact that a large number are without endorsements or other marks to indicate that they have been heard. Council sessions also frequently ended leaving numbers of petitions undetermined.

¹³⁶ For example, Warrants Privy Seal, series I., section II., file 50.

¹³⁷ *Rot. Parl.*, IV. 84 a.

With the definitions made by the famous statute, *pro camera stellata*,¹³⁸ this chapter on the council and the chancery may be closed.¹³⁹ In declaring a class of crimes, namely those of maintenance and violence, to belong especially to the council, it made a clear distinction from the jurisdiction of the chancery; in designating the councillors who were to sit in the Star Chamber, it named a court separate from the chancery; in sanctioning the writs of privy seal and the inquisitorial examinations, it legitimized the principal features of council procedure; and in declaring that punishment should be effective, it renounced the greatest weakness of the past.

To summarize the evidence which has been produced, the history of the council may be regarded as a series of special phases and differentiations, which were necessary from its ever-enlarging responsibilities. Of these phases the earliest, which has been described as the "council at the exchequer", was superseded by the "council in chancery", which was the dominant form of the fourteenth century. The later operation of the council on the inner lines afforded by the privy seal was found more expedient in the sphere of politics and in a certain field of justice. This became the dominant form of the fifteenth century. At the same time the older relations with the chancery continued, with a gradual tendency toward separation and independence. Not until the sixteenth century could the chancellor be said to be quite free of all association with the council.

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¹³⁸ Statutes, 3 Hen. VII., c. 1.

¹³⁹ That the statute did not have the effect intended it is not necessary for me to argue. See Schofield, *Study of the Court of Star Chamber* (Chicago, 1900):

THE CLEAVAGE BETWEEN EASTERN AND WESTERN VIRGINIA

EASTERN and western Virginia in the ante-bellum days were unlike socially, politically, and economically. Their differences were due primarily to geographic influences. East of the Blue Ridge of mountains the surface is generally level, the climate even, and the soil adapted to the growth of staples. Here the industrial and social life centred in the large estate,¹ which had its origin in the nature of the agriculture adopted and in the institution of negro slavery. In many respects the plantation was self-sufficing. It furnished the raw materials which negro slaves converted into means of subsistence. Only the surplus staples went to purchase foreign luxuries and such articles as could not be grown or manufactured upon the estate. To the plantation owner the patronage of manufacturing on a large scale was a secondary and incidental thing, designed chiefly to supply luxuries. The broad arms of the Chesapeake, extending far inland, afforded the means of free commercial intercourse and early accustomed the Virginia planter to regard freedom of international trade as a prerogative. To him tariff walls were unnatural, and interference with established institutions was meddlesome, to say the least. From the outsider he desired little except the undisturbed enjoyment of his "rural simplicity".

West of the Blue Ridge of mountains the surface is either mountainous or hilly, the climate uneven, and the soil adapted to grazing and farming. These geographic barriers checked the westward extension of the plantation system and the early development of the transmontane country. When population at last pushed into that section, it came largely from the northern colonies and was composed of a variety of nationalities, the Scotch-Irish and Germans being the most important elements.² In both their manner of settlement and their mode of living, the westerners were unlike the eastern planters. Except the earliest pioneers, they had occupied and conquered the wilderness in bands of congenial families. With them the industrial and social life centred in the small farm, which

¹ Bruce, *Economic History of Virginia*, I. 569; *id.*, *Social Life of Virginia*, chs. III. and IV.; Wirt, *Henry*, pp. 32 ff.; Jefferson, *Notes on Virginia* (ed. of 1787), pp. 261-270; Tucker, *Jefferson*, I. 19; Rowland, *Mason*, I. 99.

² Kercheval, *History of the Valley*, p. 68.

was usually operated by its owner and the members of his family. The small communities and the villages, which sprang up in their midst, proceeded like the eastern plantations to become largely self-sufficing. The sale of live stock and surplus farm products, which found a ready market in Baltimore and Philadelphia, provided the westerners with those articles of luxury and manufacture which could not be produced at home.³ A homogeneity of interest taught the various communities to make common efforts to secure better markets and means of access to them. When capital began to accumulate, a desire arose to develop the rich natural resources, the strata of coal and the forests of timber. Already schooled in the defense of community interests the westerners then became the advocates of vast schemes for internal improvements and a protective tariff.

Although the annals of Virginia record the events of sectional contests in the early colonial days,⁴ it was not until the cismontane and transmontane societies came into contact that the integrity of the commonwealth was seriously endangered. In the period immediately preceding the American Revolution several schemes for new colonies, to be erected out of Virginia territory in the Trans-Alleghany, were proposed.⁵ In Virginia the movement which culminated in national independence was largely a revolt of the democratic interior, under the leadership of Patrick Henry, against the conservative lowland, under the leadership of Pendleton and Randolph.⁶ But independence added only new zeal and purpose to the participants in these sectional controversies. To defend his home against attacks by the savages and to secure a more adequate means of internal communication the westerner felt the imperative need of a strong national government.⁷ On the other hand, the Whig planters desired the greatest local autonomy. When "a more perfect union" was finally formed, the westerners defended it out of pure patriotism. To them it was their nearest realization of a democratic government; it guaranteed to every thirty thousand of its citizens an equal representation in Congress, whereas the state constitution of 1776 denied to the large western counties an adequate

³ *Debates of the Virginia Constitutional Convention of 1829-1830*, p. 452.

⁴ Spotswood, *Letters*, II. 98-99.

⁵ Alden, *New Governments west of the Alleghanies before 1780* (Bulletin of the University of Wisconsin Historical Series, vol. II., no. 1).

⁶ Tyler, *Henry*, p. 56; *Journal of the House of Burgesses* (ed. Kennedy), 1766-1769, pp. x-xxi; Wirt, *Henry*, pp. 69-75. The interior counties of the Piedmont co-operated with the transmontane country in the movement for independence.

⁷ *Virginia Historical Collections*, X. 18, 27, 40.

voice in either branch of the state legislature.⁸ On the other hand, the easterners maintained their undemocratic rule over their western brethren, while they preached the greatest individualism in federal relations. Accordingly, the westerners voted for the adoption of the federal Constitution,⁹ against the Resolutions of 1798,¹⁰ and against the various resolutions favorable to Nullification and Secession proposed in 1832.¹¹ In the first instance the commercial interests of the Tidewater combined with the west and brought victory, but on each of the subsequent occasions the west was in a hopeless minority.

During the quarter century from 1825 to 1850 the sectional controversies in Virginia were conducted with great zeal but with little organization. The west was the growing and aggressive section; the east the declining and conservative one. Every move on the part of the former for a proportionate representation in the general assembly and a proportionate expenditure of the state revenues was met by the reminder that the taxable property and population of the east were greater than that of the west and that the east possessed a "peculiar species" of property, negro slaves, the possession of which could be guaranteed and secured only by giving to masters a voice in the government adequate to the protection of their interests.¹² It was during this period that the easterners began to ridicule and to declare impracticable the "abstractions" and "metaphysical subtleties" of Thomas Jefferson and thus to insist upon the rule of the minority as opposed to the rule of the numerical majority. On the other hand, the westerners attacked both the practice of unequal representation and the institution of negro slavery. In them they saw the sole causes of their political degradation and of their arrested social and economic development.¹³ Arguments opposing and supporting these two extremes were poured forth in profusion in the Constitutional Convention of 1829-1830 and in the assembly of 1831-1832, where the expediency of legislating upon the abolition of negro slavery was the chief subject of discussion. But the west lost in each contest, and there are few years during the period from 1830 to 1850 which did not bring forth schemes for the

⁸ *Debates and Proceedings on the Virginia Resolutions of 1798* (ed. of 1835), pp. 81, 176. Each county was allowed two representatives in the House of Delegates. This gave the small eastern counties political control over the larger and more populous western counties.

⁹ Elliot, *Debates*, III. 649-650.

¹⁰ *Debates and Proceedings on the Virginia Resolutions of 1798*, p. 212.

¹¹ Lynchburg *Virginian*, January 7, February 11, 1833; *Journal of the House of Delegates*, 1832-1833, pp. 79, 82, 88.

¹² *Debates of the Constitutional Convention of 1829-1830*, pp. 72-88.

¹³ *Ibid.*, pp. 116, 123-125, 143, 425.

dismemberment of the commonwealth. Long articles appeared in many of the western prints suggesting suitable seats of government and executive officers for a new state to be erected west of the Blue Ridge.¹⁴

But the events of 1850 and 1851 changed the character of this sectional contest. The census of 1850 showed that western Virginia had a greater free white population than eastern Virginia and that the taxable property of the former section was rapidly increasing in amount. These facts and the necessity for local political accord, because of the impending national crisis, caused the easterners to relent. Accordingly the Reform Convention of 1850-1851 placed the westerners in practical control of the state government. With their citadel of strength in the Valley the Democrats now gained almost undisputed political control. Lavish appropriations for works of internal improvement were made and proposed; Joseph Johnson, the first and only person to be elected from the Trans-Alleghany, was made governor; and J. M. Mason, of the Valley, was re-elected to the United States Senate. The westerners also accepted the Compromise of 1850 as a final settlement of the various questions growing out of the existence of negro slavery in the South and its proposed extension to the Southwest. Since the days of Nullification a majority of the voters of their section had been Democrats of the Jacksonian type, whereas the Whig minority had adhered to the nationalistic wing of their party. It was thus easy for all parties at the west to sacrifice political prejudices and local interests for the preservation of the Union. Robbed of their western allies, the eastern Whigs ceased to be formidable, and the sectional contests ceased temporarily to be menacing.

But the period of political accord following 1851 was only the calm before the storm. The east grew more and more distrustful of the west, and in 1852 the eastern Democrats repudiated the Compromise of 1850.¹⁵ Meanwhile a new opposition party, the Know-Nothing, was forming in the east out of the remnants of the old Whig party and was rapidly extending itself to the west, where grave dissatisfaction with the educational and internal improvement policies of the state continued to exist. The mysteries surrounding the Know-Nothing organization, its liberal policy on the subject of internal improvements, and the avowed determination of its leaders

¹⁴ *Kanawha Banner*, September 17, October 29, November 15, 1830; *Winchester Republican*, October 15, December 3, 1830.

¹⁵ *National Intelligencer*, April 8, 1852.

to suppress further agitation of questions growing out of negro slavery appealed to the westerners.¹⁶

To avert this threatened defeat and disruption of their party the Democrats brought forward Henry A. Wise as their candidate for governor in 1855. Although in thorough sympathy with the slaveholding interests Wise enjoyed great popularity in the counties west of the Blue Ridge. Like William L. Yancey, of Alabama, who had espoused the cause of woman's suffrage, and other political leaders of southern black-belts, Wise saw, as did few other Virginians of his day, the expediency of political alliances between the comparatively non-slaveholding and the slaveholding districts of the Southern States and the necessity as a means thereto of conceding some of the demands of the non-slaveholding sections. He had long been an advocate of the public free school and the constitutional reforms desired by the west.¹⁷ In the Reform Convention of 1850-1851 he had been the only delegate from the Tidewater who had spoken with and voted with the delegates from the west. Thus he had ingratiated himself in the feelings of the westerners until they felt that he was the only eastern politician whom they could trust. He was hailed by them as the preserver of the integrity of the commonwealth and as "the champion of the Union-loving indomitable Democracy".¹⁸ Had he desired it the Democratic party of Virginia would have united to support him for the presidential nomination of 1856.¹⁹

The contest between Wise, the Democratic, and Thomas S. Flournoy, the Know-Nothing, candidate for the governorship and the victory of the former were events of political importance.²⁰ By his brilliant oratory and winning personality Wise clinched his hold upon the west. Its young men became his personal followers and admirers, and several newspapers, devoted to his interests, were established there. In the larger field of politics the result of this contest was to prevent the threatened extension of Know-Nothingism to the Southern States, to kill temporarily the opposition party in Virginia, and to place Wise before the country as a possible candidate for the presidency. A united party under

¹⁶ Wise, *Wise*, pp. 170 ff.; *id.*, *Seven Decades of the Union*; Tyler, *Letters and Times of the Tylers*, II. 516; Hambleton, *Virginia Politics in 1855 and Life of Henry A. Wise*, pp. 60 ff.

¹⁷ Wise, *Wise*, pp. 105, 162-163.

¹⁸ *Kanawha Valley Star*, April 30, 1856.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, April 13, 20, 27, 1857; Tyler, *Letters and Times of the Tylers*, II. 520-526.

²⁰ Wise's majority was more than ten thousand, less than one thousand of which came from the counties east of the Blue Ridge. *Whig Almanac* for 1856, p. 56.

his leadership gave James Buchanan the largest majority yet given by Virginia to any Democratic candidate for the presidency and secured the election of the first solidly Democratic delegation to represent Virginia in Congress.²¹

Masters at home but alarmed at the successes of the Abolitionists on the far western frontier, Wise and his political associates took up the programme, already popular in the Gulf States, for a united pro-slavery South. Their slogan was slavery extension and the preservation of Southern institutions and ideals. To this proposed new South they hoped, and not without assurances of success, to attach a united Virginia. Wise's popularity in the west and the conciliatory results of the Reform Convention of 1850-1851 were relied upon to win that section. Besides, slavery extension had always been popular in western Virginia. Its most representative citizens boasted of their Southern ancestry and of their devotion to Southern institutions, and its political leaders had always insisted that the extension of slave territory could not increase the number of negro slaves or the evils of slaveholding. In the debate over the admission of Missouri they had argued for the extension of negro slavery, because extension would permit dissemination and a consequent greater intimacy between master and slave.²²

Despite the devotion of the former Whig element to the Union the Southern propagandists counted upon the united co-operation of eastern Virginia. The Jeffersonian theory of states' rights had always been popular there, and the new doctrine of minority rights, founded upon the Jeffersonian teachings, formulated by Calhoun, and expounded in Virginia by Abel P. Upshur and Benjamin W. Leigh, was every day becoming more and more popular with the masses. Moreover, the slave-owners of this section continued to derive large annual profits from the domestic slave-trade, and some of them, not without encouragement from such industrial leaders as Edmund Ruffin and others, hoped again to see negro slavery profitable economically.

One step in the pro-Southern movement was to make Virginia the intellectual and political head of a new South.²³ For this purpose the state university, whence should emanate the orthodox teachings on the nature of the federal government, was to be made the intellectual centre. To co-operate in this movement ministers and educators deserted their private and denominational institutions to

²¹ Buchanan's majority was 25,548. *Tribune Almanac* for 1857, p. 51.

²² *Annals of Congress*, 16 Cong., 1 sess., I. 996, 1000, 1268-1272.

²³ This plan had its inception with Thomas Jefferson. Jefferson, *Writings* (ed. Ford), VII. 164, 204, 455.

write books and pamphlets in defense of the new educational movement and the institution of negro slavery. The public prints were also active. During the fifties the Richmond press contained many editorial articles written to deter Southerners from attending Northern institutions of learning and to lessen the influence of the "Yankee" school-teacher in the South.²⁴

Under these influences the University of Virginia became a close second to Harvard in enrollment and attained a prominence never enjoyed before and scarcely attained since. The attendance rose from less than two hundred in 1848 to almost seven hundred in 1858.²⁵ The Richmond press praised it as the one institution of the country where "southern youths, who are united by common devotion to southern rights, to southern institutions, to southern manners, and to southern chivalry", could be educated in "like manner" and with "similar thoughts".²⁶ It also rejoiced in the disappearance of the Yankee school-teacher, in the fact that his place was being filled by those to the "manor born", and in the growing disposition of Southerners to patronize their own institutions of learning.

Notwithstanding the popularity of the university in the slaveholding sections of Virginia and in the lower South, it had few friends west of the Blue Ridge. There the Yankee school-teacher and the public free-school movement continued to hold their own. The inhabitants of western Virginia looked upon their state university as an institution established especially for the sons of eastern and Southern "nabobs". Consequently they opposed all efforts to increase the appropriations for it and to enlarge its faculty.²⁷ Instead of fostering higher education they maintained that the general assembly should make provision whereby "the men of small farms" could educate their children in the rudiments of learning.²⁸ E. W. Newton, editor of the *Kanawha Republican*²⁹ and a former Vermont school-teacher, urged through the columns of his paper the cause of the public free school and condemned higher education, when obtained at the cost of illiteracy to the masses. In 1860 there were twice as many west Virginians attending colleges in the free states as there were students from that section enrolled in all the colleges east of the Blue Ridge in Virginia. Out of a total of three hundred

²⁴ *Richmond Enquirer*, January 6, 1860.

²⁵ *House Document No. 12* of the assembly of 1858-1859.

²⁶ *Kanawha Valley Star*, December 2, 1856; July 12, 1859.

²⁷ *Journal of the House of Delegates*, 1841-1842, doc. no. 7.

²⁸ *Kanawha Republican*, May 21, 1842.

²⁹ The *Republican*, published at Charleston, was the largest and best newspaper in Trans-Alleghany Virginia prior to the Civil War.

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and seventeen Virginians attending the university in 1858-1859 only seventeen came from what is now West Virginia.

The westerners opposed also the movement, popular in the east, for a military training for young Southerners. In 1835 they voted against the act of the assembly whereby the academy and arsenal at Lexington were converted into a state military school. They continued to oppose appropriations to this institution and to refuse to patronize it freely, notwithstanding the fact that the state paid a portion of each state cadet's expenses.

The differences between the churches, especially the differences between those denominations which sprang from a division of the Methodist, Presbyterian, and Baptist denominations, had, by 1855, become a part of the political contests and were doing much to shape public opinion on political subjects. The Southern churches which arose from divisions within these denominations were defending Southern interests and institutions, and some of their ministers were defending the doctrine of the divine origin and plan of negro slavery. On the other hand, the Northern churches of a similar origin were condemning negro slavery as a sin and preaching against its extension into the territories.

Because of their greater importance these differences will be traced only as they manifested themselves in the contests between the Methodist Episcopal Church and the Methodist Episcopal Church, South. Since 1844 these two churches had contended with each other for the church membership and property throughout a vast territory embracing the Eastern Shore, the Northern Neck, the Valley, and a large part of the Trans-Alleghany. When the Kansas controversy became acute the Southern church in the border adopted the policy of "carrying everything up to the Mason and Dixon line".³⁰ To accomplish this undertaking it sent agents and ministers into the disputed territory. On arriving there these representatives were met by persons sent out by the Northern church to retain its foothold in slave territory and to strengthen that hold, if possible. The discussions which took place between these two opposing sets of representatives were marked by the usual vituperation and bitterness of religious controversies and did much during the next half decade to shape antagonistic pro-Southern and pro-Union sentiment.

After 1856 the Methodist Episcopal Church in the border states championed the cause of the Union. Not unfrequently her ministers put to their congregations the plain question "Do you desire the dissolution of the American Union?" They were then plainly

³⁰ *Kanawha Valley Star*, September 15, 1857; March 9, 1859.

told that if they did not desire disunion, it was their duty "to speak out in thunder tones and tell these disunionists [the members of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South] that they shall not divide the church of the land by the line which separates the slave states from the free". "Tell them", said Rev. Wesley Smith, "that the Methodist Episcopal Church shall exist on slave territory to the end of time and that as a Heaven appointed instrumentality . . . we shall aid in preserving the integrity of the Union."³¹

In 1856 the radicals in the Methodist Episcopal Church secured control of its publications, which were henceforth used to denounce negro slavery and Southern institutions in general.³² Those periodicals of the Northern church which circulated in western Virginia spoke without apology of "the stench, the suffocation, and the death" of slave society.³³ The Sunday-school literature in circulation there contained warnings against the temptations of "slave holding, stealing, and intemperance".³⁴

By those who adhered to the Southern church these attacks were regarded as purely political. Consequently both the church and the political organs of pro-Southern sentiment felt called upon to answer them. In many instances it would have been difficult to tell from their contents whether or not the pro-Southern newspapers or periodicals of the Valley or the Trans-Alleghany were church or party organs. Both insisted upon it that the Methodist Episcopal Church was "an abolitionist, anti-slavery, anti-southern, and anti-Virginian institution" and that it was "more of a political than a religious organization".³⁵ Mass-meetings were held to protest against the "dissemination of sentiments derogatory and dangerous to our institutions". The resolutions passed at Boothsville, Marion County (now a part of West Virginia), are given as typical of those passed elsewhere. They are as follows:

1. Resolved, That, as the firm friends of the National Constitution, we pledge ourselves to oppose with manly firmness every attempt of northern abolitionists and of their coadjutors who are vainly seeking to conceal their dark purposes by fraud and disguise to beguile our people into an alliance with Black Republicanism.
2. That the present position of the northern division of the Methodist Episcopal Church on the slavery question, the action of its general

³¹ *Defence of the M. E. Church*, pamphlet, by Rev. Wesley Smith. This pamphlet may be found in the office of the *Pittsburg Christian Advocate*, Pittsburg, Pennsylvania.

³² Matlack, *Anti-Slavery Struggle*, p. 296.

³³ *Pittsburg Christian Advocate*, August 21, 1857; *Kanawha Valley Star*, September 1, 1857.

³⁴ *Kanawha Valley Star*, January 12, 1858.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, October 20, December 8, 1857.

and annual conferences, and the course taken by its editors and clergy prove it to be as thoroughly abolitionist as any party organization in the country.

3. That we ask as a special favor of the Methodist Episcopal Church and any other Church that may consider this country a part of their moral vineyard for the future, to send among us only such ministers as have wisdom and grace enough to enable them to preach the gospel without meddling with our civil institutions.³⁶

Because of the political movements which combined with them, the importance which the contests in religious matters had in shaping antagonistic pro-Southern and pro-Union sentiment in Virginia has been greatly minimized. But many of the older residents of northern West Virginia insist to this day that "the Methodist Episcopal Church dismembered Virginia". The historical accuracy of this statement may be justly questioned, but it is significant that the pro-Union and pro-Southern strength of western Virginia in 1861 could have been measured and located by determining the membership and location of the various churches of the Methodist Episcopal Church and Methodist Episcopal Church, South, respectively.

The diverse sectional development along economic lines was as marked as in educational and religious matters. Edmund Ruffin and other leading agriculturists of eastern Virginia now joined their political associates in the assertion that their state could hope to regain her fallen prestige and sunken fortunes only by increasing her slave population and by maintaining the domestic slave-trade. In some of the ablest pro-slavery arguments of the ante-bellum period, these leaders defended negro slavery as an economic good and necessity, ordained and sanctioned by God. For the first time in Virginia history large numbers of the masses joined her politicians to condemn the "political heresies" of Thomas Jefferson.³⁷ The annual commercial conventions of the South, forerunners of the Confederacy, were attended by many delegates from eastern Virginia, who took a sympathetic part in all the proceedings except those connected with the movement to reopen the African slave-trade. So enthusiastic did certain eastern politicians become over the Southern programme that the Richmond press professed to believe the political union of Virginia consummated. Occasionally it threatened those isolated sections of the west which showed marked Abolitionist tendencies with unfriendly legislation and other marks of disfavor.

On the other hand the west took little or no interest in the Southern commercial conventions. Always true to the individualism of

³⁶ *Kanawha Valley Star*, September 15, 1857.

³⁷ De Bow, *Review*, XXIV. 584; XXVI. 415 ff.; see Edmund Ruffin, *Political Economy of Slavery*.

Jefferson, western leaders now contended that the easterners had forgotten their original states'-rights doctrines and that they had become advocates of Southern rights and minority rights instead. They opposed "a union of all parties at the South for the defense of the South", because, said they, "such a course will lead to a union of all parties at the North for the destruction of the South", or the dismemberment of the Union.³⁸ True to the teachings and plans of the fathers they believed negro slavery an economic evil and hoped for the day when it should be abolished.³⁹ The western prints also commented freely upon the fact that the Richmond newspapers had "during the discussion over Kansas" changed from "the strictly states rights sentiment to the position of one defending the South".⁴⁰ They received the attacks upon the Abolitionist communities of the west as attacks upon the section as a whole. In answer to a threat made by the *Richmond Examiner* against the western Abolitionists the *Guyandotte Union* said: "You know not what it awakens in the bosom of honest patriots! Leave Guyandotte . . . to the quiet and peaceful enjoyment of negro worship! Oh! *Examiner! Examiner!* you know not how you sink the hearts of this people. Thou hast wounded the spirit that loved thee."⁴¹

The internal improvement legislation and activity of Wise's administration was determined largely by the programme for a united pro-Southern Virginia. To conciliate the west and to counteract the influence of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, which was diverting the traffic of northwestern Virginia to Baltimore, the long-neglected scheme for a continuous railroad through central Virginia by way of the James and Kanawha rivers was revived and favorably received in the east. Of this proposed road and its purpose the *Richmond Enquirer* said: "This very region [western Virginia] is the seat of a large portion of the military strength of the state, containing as it does a majority of the white population. *It is as if we had a citadel filled with men and out-works feebly manned with no communication one to the other.*"⁴² Of the same scheme the *Kanawha Valley Star*, a western newspaper in sympathy with the pro-Southern programme, said: "We now come to . . . the gradual preparation of Virginia for the great future struggle that every revolving year is hastening upon her: The struggle whose issue will be states rights and constitutional union, or

³⁸ *Kanawha Valley Star*, July 14, 1857.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, May 26, September 23, 1857.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, September 8, 1857, quoting the *Wheeling Argus*.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, October 13, 1857, quoting the *Guyandotte Union*.

⁴² *Richmond Enquirer*, August 10, 1855; see De Bow, *Review*, XIX. 445 ff.

a union of power untempered by law, unchecked by constitutional guarantees, ruled only by a fickle, irresponsible, fanatical majority."⁴³

After delays caused by the financial panic of 1857 the scheme for connecting the James and Kanawha rivers was revived, but the railroad as a means thereto had fallen into disfavor. The long-abandoned scheme for a continuous waterway was again proposed. Its promoters thus hoped to divert commerce from the Erie Canal route and to make Norfolk a commercial rival of New York City. To complete these plans William Ballard Preston was sent abroad, and was authorized to negotiate with a French syndicate, which, it was hoped, would furnish means to complete the canal and to establish a direct steamship line between Norfolk and Nantes.⁴⁴ Despite the fact that the railroad was daily becoming more practicable as a means of communication, the scheme for a continuous canal through central Virginia gained in favor; and on the eve of Secession the rights and privileges of the old James River Company were given to French parties, who contracted to complete the proposed canal and to maintain direct communications between Virginia and France.⁴⁵

Despite their growing desire for internal improvements the westerners did not co-operate with these belated efforts to connect eastern and western Virginia commercially. The inhabitants of the Kanawha Valley condemned the canal as impracticable and demanded a continuous railway instead. On the other hand, the inhabitants living along the Baltimore and Ohio and the Virginia and Tennessee railroads instructed their representatives in the general assembly to vote against appropriations for either a railroad or a canal to pass through the central part of the state.⁴⁶

These sectional differences manifested themselves most strikingly, however, in the political contests of 1859 and 1860. The absence of a formidable opposition party and a lack of sympathy in the west for the pro-Southern programme threatened again to disrupt the Democratic party. Wise, the former political idol of the west, was now rapidly falling into disfavor there. The western-

⁴³ February 24, 1857.

⁴⁴ *Kanawha Valley Star*, January 19, 1858; Wise, *Wise*, p. 221; *Twenty-fourth Annual Report of the James River and Kanawha Company*, p. 449.

⁴⁵ This French syndicate was interested in coal lands in western Virginia. It owned a large tract known as the "Swan Lands". See *Forty-first Report of Board of Public Works*; also *Twenty-sixth Annual Report of the James River and Kanawha Company*.

⁴⁶ *Kanawha Valley Star*, April 6, 1858, April 16, 1860; *Journal of the General Assembly*, 1855-1856, p. 486.

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ers did not like his activity in behalf of the Southern programme. Their prints now spoke of him as a "southern rights man" and not a "states rights man" and as being "bold without discretion and generous without judgment".⁴⁷ They refused to follow any leader who boastfully considered himself "a bold man in place, having their confidence and thus able to effect a union"⁴⁸ of the Southern people. Moreover, the old Jacksonian Democrats of the west could not understand why Mr. Wise should repudiate the Buchanan administration.⁴⁹

R. M. T. Hunter, who, since the death of Calhoun, had lost much of his former enthusiasm for a united pro-slavery South, was rapidly displacing Wise as the leader in the west. Besides his conservatism and loyalty to the federal administration Hunter had other qualities which appealed to the westerners. Above all he was a firm believer in the Jeffersonian theory of states' rights. Also, he did not insist, as did Wise, upon committing the Democratic party, by platform or otherwise, on the subject of slavery extension. An easterner and an orthodox Southerner in every respect, he insisted that issues would not soon arise to necessitate such a course by the Democrats.⁵⁰

By 1859 both Wise and Hunter were avowed candidates for the presidency, and as such each sought the support of Virginia to secure the nomination of the Democratic party.⁵¹ Accordingly their respective adherents sought to name the gubernatorial candidate of that party and thus to secure control of the state organization. The supporters of Wise favored the nomination of John W. Brockenbrough, a resident of the east but widely and favorably known in the west, which section he had served for years as a federal judge. On the other hand the Hunter men favored the nomination of "honest John" Letcher,⁵² the political idol of the "Tenth Legion", the Democratic stronghold of the Valley, and the choice of Virginia's representatives in Congress.

The contest between Letcher and Brockenbrough for the gubernatorial nomination was severe. It marked a decided departure from the methods and issues of previous campaigns. Despite the repeated assertions of their aversion to the injection of negro slavery into politics and religion Virginians now suffered it to be-

⁴⁷ *Kanawha Valley Star*, August 16, 1859.

⁴⁸ Tyler, *Letters and Times of the Tylers*, II. 521.

⁴⁹ Wise, *Wise*, p. 236; *id.*, *Seven Decades of the Union*, p. 246.

⁵⁰ *The John P. Branch Historical Papers*, vol. II., no. 2, pp. 40-55; *Richmond Examiner*, May 31, 1860.

⁵¹ *Richmond Whig*, March 3, 1859; *New York Tribune*, June 16, 1859.

⁵² *Kanawha Valley Star*, October 12, 1858.

come the leading issue in a political contest within their own state. Because he had endorsed the "Ruffner Pamphlet" of 1847,⁵³ which proposed to divide Virginia into two districts, the eastern to be slaveholding and the western to be free, the Richmond newspapers denounced John Letcher as an "abolitionist and a free-soiler" and favored the nomination of Brockenbrough.⁵⁴ The orthodoxy of the candidates upon the subject of negro slavery was really the only issue in the contest. Considering the nature and the location of the opposition, Letcher's victory was doubly significant.

So heated was this contest that it resulted in more than one duel between leaders of the Democratic party. The "affair of honor" between O. Jennings Wise,⁵⁵ son of Governor Wise and an ardent pro-Southerner, and Sherrard Clemens, the representative of north-western Virginia in Congress and leader of the Letcher forces in the Trans-Alleghany, was of subsequent political importance. While Clemens lay at the point of death suffering from the wound which Wise had inflicted upon him, his constituents took up his fight. They assailed the "blood and thunder" methods of the pro-Southern leaders and repeatedly avowed their determination not to follow them. "The gunpowder popularity of Wise is so great", wrote a correspondent to the *Wheeling Intelligencer*, "that he [Clemens] can be re-elected upon an independent ticket."⁵⁶

The strife within the Democratic party revived hope in former Whigs and Know-Nothings, who now again organized themselves into an opposition party and named William L. Goggin, an eastern man of strong pro-Southern sentiments, as their candidate for the governorship.

The contest between Goggin and Letcher was simply a continuation of that between Brockenbrough and Letcher. Wise and the *Richmond Enquirer* gave Letcher only a half-hearted support, both at times being accused of desiring the election of Goggin.⁵⁷ Follow-

⁵³ Dr. W. H. Ruffner, president of Washington College (now Washington and Lee), was the author of the pamphlet which bears his name. It had a wide circulation in western Virginia and received the endorsement of many of her prominent leaders.

⁵⁴ *Richmond Whig*, January 7, March 15, 1858; *Richmond Enquirer*, November 2, 1859; *Kanawha Valley Star*, July 6, October 19 and 26, November 9 and 16, 1858.

⁵⁵ See *Richmond Enquirer*, September 14, 1858, and the ensuing issues; *Kanawha Valley Star*, September 21 and 30, 1858.

⁵⁶ January 17, February 18 and 19, 1859. When the ordinance of Secession was adopted by Virginia, it was Clemens, still upon crutches, who led the delegates from western Virginia to his room in the Ford Hotel and took the first steps leading to the formation of West Virginia.

⁵⁷ *Richmond Whig*, March 24, April 22, May 25, 1859; *Kanawha Valley Star*, May 24, 1859.

ing the cue of the *Richmond Whig* the eastern prints repeated the charges of Freesoilism made against Letcher. Editorial combats between the eastern and western newspapers followed. For example the *Richmond Whig* said: "We impeach him [Letcher] of warring upon the fundamental interests of the state . . . upon the institution of slavery itself and of endeavoring to exterminate it root and branch." To this the *Wheeling Intelligencer* replied:

It is more particularly that part of the sentence which speaks of slavery as "the fundamental interest of the state" that we have singled out and it is to it in particular that we call the white working men of Western Virginia. We ask them if they are disposed to enter into an opposition contest upon this issue with John Letcher? Do they for this reason also impeach John Letcher?⁵⁸

Notwithstanding Letcher's repudiation of his former Abolitionist tendencies, he owed his victory over Goggin to them and to the lack of sympathy in western Virginia for the pro-Southern programme. East of the Blue Ridge the total majority was against him, but west thereof he carried every Congressional district except one. Two Congressional districts bordering upon Ohio and Pennsylvania gave Letcher almost 4500 majority in a total majority vote of only 5569.⁵⁹

That both the cause and the significance of Letcher's election were understood in eastern Virginia and elsewhere is evident from the editorial comments upon it. The *Richmond Whig* said: "Letcher owes his election to the tremendous majority he received in the Northwest Free Soil counties, and in these counties to his anti-slavery record" and "By the vote of Virginia and Virginians Wm. L. Goggin is today the Governor elect by thousands. But the Yankeeism and Black Republicanism of the Pan Handle and other portions of the Northwest have carried John Letcher into the gubernatorial chair."⁶⁰ In the following manner the *Richmond Whig* recommended Letcher to the Republicans of northwestern Virginia as a suitable nominee of their party for the presidency: "His majority comes from that neighborhood and his Ruffner antecedents entitle him to the consideration of a convention proposed to be held where his best friends reside."⁶¹

Hunter's friends regarded Letcher's election as indicative of

⁵⁸ January 15, 1859.

⁵⁹ *Tribune Almanac* for 1860, p. 51; *Richmond Enquirer*, May 27, 1859.

⁶⁰ June 7, 1859. See also *Richmond Whig*, April 26, 1858, August 5, 1859, quoting the *National Era*; *Wheeling Intelligencer*, March 24, 1859, quoting the *Ohio State Journal*.

⁶¹ *Wheeling Intelligencer*, June 10, 1859. In 1860 there was talk of holding the Republican National Convention at Wheeling, Virginia.

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success for themselves in the presidential contest. But before they were called upon to show their strength other events occurred which lessened Wise's popularity in the west, if not in all parts of the state. Few Virginians disapproved of Governor Wise's conduct in connection with John Brown's Raid, but many became disgusted with his subsequent voluminous letter-writing in an effort to keep the John Brown affair before the people.⁶² They refused to be alarmed because of the acts of an Abolitionist fanatic and insisted that Wise desired to make political capital of them by placing behind his presidential boom a united and alarmed South ready to look to him as its leader and deliverer. Consequently, many of the westerners opposed his plan for a conference of the Southern States to devise means for their protection, as well as the bills proposed by him and introduced in the assembly to provide for the establishment of any armory and for the better organization of the state militia.

When the Democratic State Convention met in the spring of 1860, neither Wise nor Hunter was able to control it, so evenly were their forces divided. Consequently, this convention did not attempt to instruct the delegates from Virginia to the Charleston Convention, but it called upon the voters in the several Congressional districts to express a choice between Wise and Hunter when they selected delegates to the National Convention.⁶³ A spirited canvass followed, but, to the surprise of many, Hunter received practically all of the delegates from the west and several of those from the east, who at Charleston, under the unit rule, cast the vote of Virginia for him to the very last.⁶⁴

Defeat in the Charleston Convention and the subsequent inability to agree upon one candidate for the presidency brought further disorganization to the Democratic party of Virginia. Notwithstanding, the election of 1860 in that state was a triumph for conservatism and the Union. The only radical tendencies, either Northern or Southern, were shown by the handful of Republicans in the extreme northwest and by the eastern wing of the Breckinridge party. Not one of the three leading parties, the Constitutional Union, which secured the electoral vote of the state, the Breckinridge party, which came within four hundred votes of a plurality, or the Douglas party, was influenced to any great extent by the

⁶² Tyler, *Letters and Times of the Tylers*, II. 551; *Kanawha Valley Star*, December 26, 1859, April 2, 1860; *Richmond Enquirer*, January 6, 1860.

⁶³ *Richmond Enquirer*, February 28, 1860; Tyler, *Letters and Times of the Tylers*, II. 557.

⁶⁴ *Richmond Enquirer*, February 28, 1860; *Richmond Whig*, July 9 and September 30, 1860; Tyler, *Letters and Times of the Tylers*, II. 557.

Southern programme. The rank and file of each of these parties continued to stand for the "constitutional union of the fathers".

The Douglas Democrats, found in largest numbers in the western counties and in the vicinity of Richmond, were for the "preservation of the Union". They claimed to be the only true Jeffersonian Democrats. On the subject of slavery extension, they opposed the admission of Kansas under the Lecompton Constitution, because that constitution had not been ratified according to the letter and spirit of the doctrine of popular sovereignty. They urged the election of their candidate as necessary to prevent the triumph of a sectional party.

The Breckinridge party made gains in the former Whig counties of the east, but its chief strength was in the old Democratic strongholds of the west. There it had the advantage over the Douglas party of a better claim to regularity. Because of their bitter and long-drawn-out contest with the opposition, party regularity had become a habit with many voters of the mountain and hill sections. Their only question was "What is the Democratic ticket?" The Breckinridge party also controlled the press, which had always been a potent influence with the Virginia voter. Two other factors operated to keep the westerners, many of whom soon joined the Union army, in line for the Breckinridge ticket. It also claimed to stand alone upon the Democratic platform of 1798, and the term "Jeffersonian Democracy" has always been dear to the Virginia mountaineer. Besides, Breckinridge enjoyed great popularity in the western counties. He lived in a neighboring state, and he had long been regarded as the political heir to the conservatism of the Great Pacificator.

The Constitutional Union party acted in the capacity of the old Whig and Know-Nothing opposition parties. Its votes came from former opposition strongholds, and, although it received the electoral vote of the state, its total vote, when compared with that given Breckinridge and Douglas, was not greater than the usual minority poll. The opposition of this party to Democrats of whatever type led the *Richmond Whig*, its mouthpiece, to pledge its support to "Seward a thousand times sooner than to any Democrat, Northern or Southern, in the land".⁶⁵ The Constitutional Union party stood for the conservatism of the Whigs and also for the Union of the Fathers as formulated in the doctrines of 1798. But that the eastern and western wings of both this party and the Breckinridge party differed greatly in their respective interpreta-

⁶⁵ September 30, 1859.

tion of "Constitutional Union" and the "principles" of 1798, there can be no doubt.

As is frequently the case in political contests, so in this one, the party casting the smallest number of votes soon became the most important. For this reason the Republican party of Virginia in 1860 deserves more than passing notice. Unlike the Constitutional Union and the former Know-Nothing parties, it did not pose as an opposition party. Its platform, adopted at Wheeling in 1860, declared that, since the administration party had come under the absolute leadership of Toombs, Yancey, and Davis, it had ceased to be the party of "Old Hickory" and had become a "Southern-British-Antitariff-Disunion party", and that opposition was no longer necessary or advisable. It insisted that the cotton planters of the lower South had made war upon the manufacturers of the North and that they were trying to drive capital from the mills into agriculture in an endeavor to increase the number and value of negro slaves. It also alleged that the slave interests of Virginia had encroached upon the personal rights of the free white men of her western counties by weighing them down with oppressive taxation and by denying them a proportionate representation in the general assembly. But this platform differs from the others chiefly in its clear exposition of the economic and political differences between eastern and western Virginia. It resembles them in that it, too, stood for the Union of the Fathers.⁶⁶

Thus the dominating element in each of the four political parties in Virginia, in 1860, stood for the preservation of the Union and for conservatism. But when the Southern States began to secede, after the election of Lincoln, states' rights became the paramount issue, political parties began to disintegrate, and the Union-loving west lost its hold upon the political policies of the state. As has been said, the eastern and western factions of both the Constitutional Union and the Breckinridge parties differed widely in their respective interpretations of the principles of 1798 and of the nature of the federal government. For the most part the easterners, irrespective of party affiliations, believed sincerely that the states were sovereign and "in duty bound" to protect their rights and defend their territory. But with them diversity of opinion had been so great and devotion to the Union so strong that they had never been able to agree upon a means for protecting their rights. Some had refused to see serious infringements of rights in given cases; others had insisted upon fighting within the Union; others upon the right of a state to nullify a federal law; and still others

⁶⁶ See *Wheeling Intelligencer*, May 3, 1860.

upon the constitutional right of peaceful secession. When Lincoln's call for volunteers raised the question of defending the state's territory, all these differences of opinion immediately crystallized, and the easterners presented a united front in favor of Secession.

On the other hand, the west had never doubted the ultimate sovereignty of the federal government. As has been seen, its representatives had voted for the ratification of the federal Constitution, against the Resolutions of 1798, and for the resolutions condemning Nullification. Thus when it came to a choice of an alliance with the Union or with their own state in a contest to determine the ultimate sovereignty, the inhabitants of the west did not hesitate to choose the former.

During the months immediately preceding the secession of Virginia the eastern and western parts of the state struggled with unprecedented vigor. The west fought for delay, opposing the proposed constitutional convention and extra session of the assembly, but the east held out and secured both. While these assemblies deliberated and other Southern states seceded, the germs of radicalism in the handful of Republicans in the northwest fed upon the discontent of that section and, throughout the district already prepared by the Letcher-Goggin campaign and the contest between the churches, grew into a formidable Union party. On the other hand, the germs of radicalism in the eastern wing of the Breckinridge party, which had long maintained a precarious existence upon the movement for a united pro-slavery South, were resuscitated. The accession of former Whigs increased its strength, and it soon grew into a well-organized Secession party of much greater vitality than its prototypes of 1832 and 1850. Under the influence of subsequent events it was impossible to prevent a clash between these two parties; impossible to keep the eastern radicals from carrying Virginia out of the Union and the radicals of the northwest from dismembering the "Mother of Commonwealths".

CHARLES H. AMBLER.

RECONSTRUCTION AND ITS BENEFITS¹

THERE is danger to-day that between the intense feeling of the South and the conciliatory spirit of the North grave injustice will be done the negro American in the history of Reconstruction. Those who see in negro suffrage the cause of the main evils of Reconstruction must remember that if there had not been a single freedman left in the South after the war the problems of Reconstruction would still have been grave. Property in slaves to the extent of perhaps two thousand million dollars had suddenly disappeared. One thousand five hundred more millions, representing the Confederate war debt, had largely disappeared. Large amounts of real estate and other property had been destroyed, industry had been disorganized, 250,000 men had been killed and many more maimed. With this went the moral effect of an unsuccessful war with all its letting down of social standards and quickening of hatred and discouragement—a situation which would make it difficult under any circumstances to reconstruct a new government and a new civilization. Add to all this the presence of four million freedmen and the situation is further complicated. But this complication is very largely a matter of well-known historical causes. Any human being “doomed in his own person, and his posterity, to live without knowledge, and without the capacity to make anything his own, and to toil that another may reap the fruits”,² is bound, on sudden emancipation, to loom like a great dread on the horizon.

How to train and treat these ex-slaves easily became a central problem of Reconstruction, although by no means the only problem. Three agencies undertook the solution of this problem at first and their influence is apt to be forgotten. Without them the problems of Reconstruction would have been far graver than they were. These agencies were: (a) the negro church, (b) the negro school, and (c) the Freedmen's Bureau. After the war the white churches of the South got rid of their negro members and the negro church organizations of the North invaded the South. The 20,000 members of the African Methodist Episcopal Church in 1856 leaped to 75,000 in 1866 and 200,000 in 1876, while their property increased

¹ Paper read at the annual meeting of the American Historical Association in New York, December, 1909.

² *State v. Mann, North Carolina Reports*, 2 Devereux 263.

sevenfold. The negro Baptists with 150,000 members in 1850 had fully a half million in 1870. There were, before the end of Reconstruction, perhaps 10,000 local bodies touching the majority of the freed population, centring almost the whole of their social life, and teaching them organization and autonomy. They were primitive, ill-governed, at times fantastic groups of human beings, and yet it is difficult to exaggerate the influence of this new responsibility—the first social institution fully controlled by black men in America, with traditions that rooted back to Africa and with possibilities which make the 35,000 negro American churches to-day, with their three and one-half million members, the most powerful negro institutions in the world.

With the negro church, but separate from it, arose the school as the first expression of the missionary activity of Northern religious bodies. Seldom in the history of the world has an almost totally illiterate population been given the means of self-education in so short a time. The movement started with the negroes themselves and they continued to form the dynamic force behind it. "This great multitude rose up simultaneously and asked for intelligence."³ The education of this mass had to begin at the top with the training of teachers, and within a few years a dozen colleges and normal schools started; by 1877, 571,506 negro children were in school. There can be no doubt that these schools were a great conservative steadying force to which the South owes much. It must not be forgotten that among the agents of the Freedmen's Bureau were not only soldiers and politicians but school-teachers and educational leaders like Ware and Cravath.

Granted that the situation was in any case bad and that negro churches and schools stood as conservative educative forces, how far did negro suffrage hinder progress, and was it expedient? The difficulties that stared Reconstruction politicians in the face were these: (a) They must act quickly. (b) Emancipation had increased the political power of the South by one-sixth: could this increased political power be put in the hands of those who, in defense of slavery, had disrupted the Union? (c) How was the abolition of slavery to be made effective? (d) What was to be the political position of the freedmen?

Andrew Johnson said in 1864, in regard to calling a convention to restore the state of Tennessee,

who shall restore and re-establish it? Shall the man who gave his influence and his means to destroy the Government? Is he to participate in the great work of re-organization? Shall he who brought this

³ First General Report of the Inspector of Schools, Freedmen's Bureau.

misery upon the State be permitted to control its destinies? If this be so, then all this precious blood of our brave soldiers and officers so freely poured out will have been wantonly spilled.⁴

To settle these and other difficulties, three ways were suggested: (1) the Freedmen's Bureau, (2) partial negro suffrage, and (3) full manhood suffrage for negroes.

The Freedmen's Bureau was an attempt to establish a government guardianship over the negroes and insure their economic and civil rights. Its establishment was a herculean task both physically and socially, and it not only met the solid opposition of the white South, but even the North looked at the new thing as socialistic and over-paternal. It accomplished a great task but it was repudiated. Carl Schurz in 1865 felt warranted in saying

that not half of the labor that has been done in the south this year, or will be done there next year, would have been or would be done but for the exertions of the Freedmen's Bureau. . . . No other agency, except one placed there by the national government, could have wielded that moral power whose interposition was so necessary to prevent the southern society from falling at once into the chaos of a general collision between its different elements.⁵

Notwithstanding this the Bureau was temporary, was regarded as a makeshift and soon abandoned.

Meantime, partial negro suffrage seemed not only just but almost inevitable. Lincoln in 1864 "cautiously suggested" to Louisiana's private consideration, "whether some of the colored people may not be let in, as, for instance, the very intelligent, and especially those who have fought gallantly in our ranks. They would probably help, in some trying time to come, to keep the jewel of liberty in the family of freedom."⁶ Indeed, the "family of freedom" in Louisiana being somewhat small just then, who else was to be intrusted with the "jewel"? Later and for different reasons, Johnson in 1865 wrote to Mississippi:

If you could extend the elective franchise to all persons of color who can read the Constitution of the United States in English and write their names, and to all persons of color who own real estate valued at not less than two hundred and fifty dollars, and pay taxes thereon, you would completely disarm the adversary and set an example the other States will follow. This you can do with perfect safety, and you thus place the southern States, in reference to free persons of color, upon the same basis with the free States. I hope and trust your convention will do this.⁷

⁴ McPherson, *Reconstruction*, p. 46.

⁵ Schurz. Report to the President, 1865. *Senate Ex. Doc. No. 2*, 39 Cong., 1 sess., p. 40.

⁶ Letter to Hahn, March 13. McPherson, p. 20.

⁷ Johnson to Sharkey, August 15. *Ibid.*, p. 19.

Meantime the negroes themselves began to ask for the suffrage—the Georgia Convention in Augusta, 1866, advocating “a proposition to give those who could write and read well, and possessed a certain property qualification, the right of suffrage”. The reply of the South to these suggestions was decisive. In Tennessee alone was any action attempted that even suggested possible negro suffrage in the future, and that failed. In all other states the “Black Codes” adopted were certainly not reassuring to friends of freedom. To be sure it was not a time to look for calm, cool, thoughtful action on the part of the white South. Their economic condition was pitiable, their fear of negro freedom genuine; yet it was reasonable to expect from them something less than repression and utter reaction toward slavery. To some extent this expectation was fulfilled: the abolition of slavery was recognized and the civil rights of owning property and appearing as a witness in cases in which he was a party were generally granted the negro; yet with these went in many cases harsh and unbearable regulations which largely neutralized the concessions and certainly gave ground for the assumption that once free the South would virtually re-enslave the negro. The colored people themselves naturally feared this and protested as in Mississippi “against the reactionary policy prevailing, and expressing the fear that the Legislature will pass such proscriptive laws as will drive the freedmen from the State, or practically re-enslave them”.⁸

The Codes spoke for themselves. They have often been reprinted and quoted. No open-minded student can read them without being convinced that they meant nothing more nor less than slavery in daily toil. Not only this but as Professor Burgess (whom no one accuses of being negrophile) says:

Almost every act, word or gesture of the Negro, not consonant with good taste and good manners as well as good morals, was made a crime or misdemeanor, for which he could first be fined by the magistrates and then be consigned to a condition of almost slavery for an indefinite time, if he could not pay the bill.

These laws might have been interpreted and applied liberally, but the picture painted by Carl Schurz does not lead one to anticipate this:

Some planters held back their former slaves on their plantations by brute force. Armed bands of white men patrolled the country roads to drive back the negroes wandering about. Dead bodies of murdered negroes were found on and near the highways and by-paths. Gruesome reports came from the hospitals—reports of colored men and women whose ears had been cut off, whose skulls had been broken by blows,

⁸ October 7, 1865.

whose bodies had been slashed by knives or lacerated with scourges. A number of such cases I had occasion to examine myself. A veritable reign of terror prevailed in many parts of the South. The negro found scant justice in the local courts against the white man. He could look for protection only to the military forces of the United States still garrisoning the "States lately in rebellion" and to the Freedmen's Bureau.

All things considered, it seems probable that if the South had been permitted to have its way in 1865 the harshness of negro slavery would have been mitigated so as to make slave-trading difficult, and to make it possible for a negro to hold property and appear in some cases in court; but that in most other respects the blacks would have remained in slavery.

What could prevent this? A Freedmen's Bureau, established for ten, twenty or forty years with a careful distribution of land and capital and a system of education for the children, might have prevented such an extension of slavery. But the country would not listen to such a comprehensive plan. A restricted grant of the suffrage voluntarily made by the states would have been a reassuring proof of a desire to treat the freedmen fairly, and would have balanced, in part at least, the increased political power of the South. There was no such disposition evident. On the other hand, there was ground for the conclusion in the Reconstruction report of June 18, 1866, that so far as slavery was concerned "the language of all the provisions and ordinances of these States on the subject amounts to nothing more than an unwilling admission of an unwelcome truth." This was of course natural, but was it unnatural that the North should feel that better guarantees were needed to abolish slavery? Carl Schurz wrote:

I deem it proper, however, to offer a few remarks on the assertion frequently put forth, that the franchise is likely to be extended to the colored man by the voluntary action of the Southern whites themselves. My observation leads me to a contrary opinion. Aside from a very few enlightened men, I found but one class of people in favor of the enfranchisement of the blacks: it was the class of Unionists who found themselves politically ostracised and looked upon the enfranchisement of the loyal negroes as the salvation of the whole loyal element. . . . The masses are strongly opposed to colored suffrage; anybody that dares to advocate it is stigmatized as a dangerous fanatic.

The only manner in which, in my opinion, the southern people can be induced to grant to the freedman some measure of self-protecting power in the form of suffrage, is to make it a condition precedent to "readmission".⁹

⁹ Report to the President, 1865. *Senate Ex. Doc. No. 2*, 39 Cong., 1 sess., p. 44.

Even in Louisiana, under the proposed reconstruction

not one negro was allowed to vote, though at that very time the wealthy intelligent free colored people of the state paid taxes on property assessed at \$15,000,000 and many of them were well known for their patriotic zeal and love for the Union. Thousands of colored men whose homes were in Louisiana, served bravely in the national army and navy, and many of the so-called negroes in New Orleans could not be distinguished by the most intelligent strangers from the best class of white gentlemen, either by color or manner, dress or language, still, as it was known by tradition and common fame that they were not of pure Caucasian descent, they could not vote.¹⁰

The United States government might now have taken any one of three courses:

1. Allowed the whites to reorganize the states and take no measures to enfranchise the freedmen.
2. Allowed the whites to reorganize the states but provided that after the lapse of a reasonable length of time there should be no discrimination in the right of suffrage on account of "race, color or previous condition of servitude".
3. Admitted all men, black and white, to take part in reorganizing the states and then provided that future restrictions on the suffrage should be made on any basis except "race, color and previous condition of servitude".

The first course was clearly inadmissible since it meant virtually giving up the great principle on which the war was largely fought and won, *i. e.*, human freedom; a giving of freedom which contented itself with an edict, and then turned the "freed" slaves over to the tender mercies of their impoverished and angry ex-masters was no gift at all. The second course was theoretically attractive but practically impossible. It meant at least a prolongation of slavery and instead of attempts to raise the freedmen, it gave the white community strong incentives for keeping the blacks down so that as few as possible would ever qualify for the suffrage. Negro schools would have been discouraged and economic fetters would have held the black man as a serf for an indefinite time. On the other hand, the arguments for universal negro suffrage from the start were strong and are still strong, and no one would question their strength were it not for the assumption that the experiment failed. Frederick Douglass said to President Johnson: "Your noble and humane predecessor placed in our hands the sword to assist in saving the nation, and we do hope that you, his able successor, will favorably regard the placing in our hands the ballot with which to save ourselves."¹¹ And when Johnson demurred

¹⁰ Brewster, *Sketches of Southern Mystery, Treason, and Murder*, p. 116.

¹¹ Frederick Douglass to Johnson, February 7, 1866. McPherson, p. 52.

on account of the hostility between blacks and poor whites, a committee of prominent colored men replied:

Even if it were true, as you allege, that the hostility of the blacks toward the poor whites must necessarily project itself into a state of freedom, and that this enmity between the two races is even more intense in a state of freedom than in a state of slavery, in the name of Heaven, we reverently ask, how can you, in view of your professed desire to promote the welfare of the black man, deprive him of all means of defence, and clothe him whom you regard as his enemy in the panoply of political power?¹²

Carl Schurz expressed this argument most emphatically:

The emancipation of the slaves is submitted to only in so far as chattel slavery in the old form could not be kept up. But although the freedman is no longer considered the property of the individual master, he is considered the slave of society, and all independent State legislation will share the tendency to make him such.

The solution of the problem would be very much facilitated by enabling all the loyal and free-labor elements in the south to exercise a healthy influence upon legislation. It will hardly be possible to secure the freedman against oppressive class legislation and private persecution, unless he be endowed with a certain measure of political power.¹³

To the argument of ignorance Schurz replied:

The effect of the extension of the franchise to the colored people upon the development of free labor and upon the security of human rights in the south being the principal object in view, the objections raised on the ground of the ignorance of the freedmen become unimportant. Practical liberty is a good school. . . . It is idle to say that it will be time to speak of negro suffrage when the whole colored race will be educated, for the ballot may be necessary to him to secure his education.¹⁴

The granting of full negro suffrage meant one of two alternatives to the South: (a) the uplift of the negro for sheer self-preservation; this is what Schurz and the saner North expected; as one Southern superintendent said: "the elevation of this class is a matter of prime importance since a ballot in the hands of a black citizen is quite as potent as in the hands of a white one." Or (b) a determined concentration of Southern effort by actual force to deprive the negro of the ballot or nullify its use. This is what happened, but even in this case so much energy was taken in keeping the negro from voting that the plan for keeping him in virtual slavery and denying him education failed. It took ten years to

¹² McPherson, p. 56.

¹³ Report to the President, 1865. *Senate Ex. Doc. No. 2*, 39 Cong., 1 sess., p. 45.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 43.

nullify negro suffrage in part and twenty years to escape the fear of federal intervention. In these twenty years a vast number of negroes had risen so far as to escape slavery forever. Debt peonage could be fastened on part of the rural South, and was, but even here the new negro landholder appeared. Thus despite everything the Fifteenth Amendment and that alone struck the death knell of slavery.

The steps that ended in the Fifteenth Amendment were not, however, taken suddenly. The negroes were given the right by universal suffrage to join in reconstructing the state governments and the reasons for it were cogently set forth in the report of the Joint Committee on Reconstruction in 1866, which began as follows:

A large proportion of the population had become, instead of mere chattels, free men and citizens. Through all the past struggle these had remained true and loyal, and had, in large numbers, fought on the side of the Union. It was impossible to abandon them without securing them their rights as free men and citizens. The whole civilized world would have cried out against such base ingratitude, and the bare idea is offensive to all right-thinking men. Hence it became important to inquire what could be done to secure their rights, civil and political.¹⁵

The report then proceeded to emphasize the increased political power of the South and recommended the Fourteenth Amendment, since

It appeared to your committee that the rights of these persons by whom the basis of representation had been thus increased should be recognized by the General Government. While slaves, they were not considered as having any rights, civil or political. It did not seem just or proper that all the political advantages derived from their becoming free should be confined to their former masters, who had fought against the Union, and withheld from themselves, who had always been loyal.¹⁶

It was soon seen that this expedient of the Fourteenth Amendment was going to prove abortive and that determined and organized effort would be used to deprive the freedmen of the ballot. Thereupon the United States said the final word of simple justice, namely: the states may still regulate the suffrage as they please but they may not deprive a man of the right to vote simply because he is a negro.

For such reasons the negro was enfranchised. What was the result? No language has been spared to describe these results as the worst imaginable. Nor is it necessary to dispute for a moment that there were bad results, and bad results arising from negro suffrage; but it may be questioned if the results were as bad as painted or if negro suffrage was the prime cause.

¹⁵ *House Reports No. 30, 39 Cong., 1 sess., p. xiii.*

¹⁶ *Ibid.*

Let us not forget that the white South believed it to be of vital interest to its welfare that the experiment of negro suffrage should fail ignominiously, and that almost to a man the whites were willing to insure this failure either by active force or passive acquiescence; that beside this there were, as might be expected, men, black and white, Northern and Southern, only too eager to take advantage of such a situation for feathering their own nests. The results in such case had to be evil but to charge the evil to negro suffrage is unfair. It may be charged to anger, poverty, venality, and ignorance; but the anger and poverty were the almost inevitable aftermath of war; the venality was much greater among whites than negroes, and while ignorance was the curse of the negroes, the fault was not theirs, and they took the initiative to correct it.

The chief charges against the negro governments are extravagance, theft, and incompetency of officials. There is no serious charge that these governments threatened civilization or the foundations of social order. The charge is that they threatened property, and that they were inefficient. These charges are in part undoubtedly true, but they are often exaggerated. When a man has, in his opinion, been robbed and maltreated he is sensitive about money matters. The South had been terribly impoverished and saddled with new social burdens. In other words, a state with smaller resources was asked not only to do a work of restoration but a larger social work. The property-holders were aghast. They not only demurred, but, predicting ruin and revolution, they appealed to secret societies, to intimidation, force, and murder. They refused to believe that these novices in government and their friends were aught but scamps and fools. Under the circumstances occurring directly after the war, the wisest statesman would have been compelled to resort to increased taxation and would in turn have been execrated as extravagant and even dishonest. When now, in addition to this, the new legislators, white and black, were undoubtedly in a large number of cases extravagant, dishonest, and incompetent, it is easy to see what flaming and incredible stories of Reconstruction governments could gain wide currency and belief. In fact, the extravagance, although great, was not universal, and much of it was due to the extravagant spirit pervading the whole country in a day of inflated currency and speculation. The ignorance was deplorable but a deliberate legacy from the past, and some of the extravagance and much of the effort was to remedy this ignorance. The incompetency was in part real and in part emphasized by the attitude of the whites of the better class.

When incompetency gains political power in an extravagant age the result is widespread dishonesty. The dishonesty in the reconstruction of the South was helped on by three circumstances:

1. The former dishonesty in the political South.
2. The presence of many dishonest Northern politicians.
3. The temptation to Southern politicians at once to profit by dishonesty and to discredit negro government.
4. The poverty of the negro.

(1) Dishonesty in public life has no monopoly of time or place in America. To take one state: In 1839 it was reported in Mississippi that ninety per cent. of the fines collected by sheriffs and clerks were unaccounted for. In 1841 the state treasurer acknowledges himself "at a loss to determine the precise liabilities of the state and her means of paying the same". And in 1839 the auditor's books had not been posted for eighteen months, no entries made for a year, and no vouchers examined for three years. Congress gave Jefferson College, Natchez, more than 46,000 acres of land; before the war this whole property had "disappeared" and the college was closed. Congress gave to Mississippi among other states the "16th section" of the public lands for schools. In thirty years the proceeds of this land in Mississippi were embezzled to the amount of at least one and a half millions of dollars. In Columbus, Mississippi, a receiver of public moneys stole \$100,000 and resigned. His successor stole \$55,000, and a treasury agent wrote: "Another receiver would probably follow in the footsteps of the two. You will not be surprised if I recommend his being retained in preference to another appointment." From 1830 to 1860 Southern men in federal offices alone embezzled more than a million dollars—a far larger sum than now. There might have been less stealing in the South during Reconstruction without negro suffrage but it is certainly highly instructive to remember that the mark of the thief which dragged its slime across nearly every great Northern state and almost up to the presidential chair could not certainly in those cases be charged against the vote of black men. This was the day when a national secretary of war was caught stealing, a vice-president presumably took bribes, a private secretary of the president, a chief clerk of the Treasury, and eighty-six government officials stole millions in the whiskey frauds, while the Credit Mobilier filched fifty millions and bribed the government to an extent never fully revealed; not to mention less distinguished thieves like Tweed.

Is it surprising that in such an atmosphere a new race learning the a-b-c of government should have become the tools of thieves?

And when they did was the stealing their fault or was it justly chargeable to their enfranchisement?

Undoubtedly there were many ridiculous things connected with Reconstruction governments: the placing of ignorant field-hands who could neither read nor write in the legislature, the gold spittoons of South Carolina, the enormous public printing bill of Mississippi—all these were extravagant and funny, and yet somehow, to one who sees beneath all that is bizarre, the real human tragedy of the upward striving of down-trodden men, the groping for light among people born in darkness, there is less tendency to laugh and gibe than among shallower minds and easier consciences. All that is funny is not bad.

Then too a careful examination of the alleged stealing in the South reveals much. First, there is repeated exaggeration. For instance it is said that the taxation in Mississippi was fourteen times as great in 1874 as in 1869. This sounds staggering until we learn that the state taxation in 1869 was only ten cents on one hundred dollars, and that the expenses of government in 1874 were only twice as great as in 1860, and that too with a depreciated currency. It could certainly be argued that the state government in Mississippi was doing enough additional work in 1874 to warrant greatly increased cost. A Southern white historian acknowledges that

the work of restoration which the government was obliged to undertake, made increased expenses necessary. During the period of the war, and for several years thereafter, public buildings and state institutions were permitted to fall into decay. The state house and grounds, the executive mansion, the penitentiary, the insane asylum, and the buildings for the blind, deaf, and dumb were in a dilapidated condition, and had to be extended and repaired. A new building for the blind was purchased and fitted up. The reconstructionists established a public school system and spent money to maintain and support it, perhaps too freely, in view of the impoverishment of the people. When they took hold, warrants were worth but sixty or seventy cents on the dollar, a fact which made the price of building materials used in the work of construction correspondingly higher. So far as the conduct of state officials who were intrusted with the custody of public funds is concerned, it may be said that there were no great embezzlements or other cases of misappropriation during the period of Republican rule.¹⁷

The state debt of Mississippi was said to have been increased from a half million to twenty million when in fact it had not been increased at all.

The character of the real thieving shows that white men must

¹⁷ Garner, *Reconstruction in Mississippi*, p. 322.

have been the chief beneficiaries and that as a former South Carolina slaveholder said:

The legislature, ignorant as it is, could not have been bribed without money, that must have been furnished from some source that it is our duty to discover. A legislature composed chiefly of our former slaves has been bribed. One prominent feature of this transaction is the part which native Carolinians have played in it, some of our own household men whom the state, in the past, has delighted to honor, appealing to their cupidity and avarice make them the instruments to effect the robbery of their impoverished white brethren. Our former slaves have been bribed by these men to give them the privilege by law of plundering the property-holders of the state.¹⁸

The character of much of the stealing shows who were the thieves. The frauds through the manipulation of state and railway bonds and of bank-notes must have inured chiefly to the benefit of experienced white men, and this must have been largely the case in the furnishing and printing frauds. It was chiefly in the extravagance for "sundries and incidentals" and direct money payments for votes that the negroes received their share.

That the negroes led by astute thieves became tools and received a small share of the spoils is true. But two considerations must be added: much of the legislation which resulted in fraud was represented to the negroes as good legislation, and thus their votes were secured by deliberate misrepresentation. Take for instance the land frauds of South Carolina. A wise negro leader of that state, advocating the state purchase of lands, said:

One of the greatest of slavery bulwarks was the infernal plantation system, one man owning his thousand, another his twenty, another fifty thousand acres of land. This is the only way by which we will break up that system, and I maintain that our freedom will be of no effect if we allow it to continue. What is the main cause of the prosperity of the North? It is because every man has his own farm and is free and independent. Let the lands of the South be similarly divided.

From such arguments the negroes were induced to aid a scheme to buy land and distribute it; yet a large part of \$800,000 appropriated was wasted and went to the white landholder's pockets. The railroad schemes were in most cases feasible and eventually carried out; it was not the object but the method that was wrong.

Granted then that the negroes were to some extent venal but to a much larger extent ignorant and deceived, the question is: did they show any signs of a disposition to learn better things? The theory of democratic government is not that the will of the people is always right, but rather that normal human beings of average

¹⁸ Hon. F. F. Warley in Brewster's *Sketches*, p. 150.

intelligence will, if given a chance, learn the right and best course by bitter experience. This is precisely what the negro voters showed indubitable signs of doing. First, they strove for schools to abolish ignorance, and, second, a large and growing number of them revolted against the carnival of extravagance and stealing that marred the beginning of Reconstruction, and joined with the best elements to institute reform; and the greatest stigma on the white South is not that it opposed negro suffrage and resented theft and incompetence, but that when it saw the reform movement growing and even in some cases triumphing, and a larger and larger number of black voters learning to vote for honesty and ability, it still preferred a Reign of Terror to a campaign of education, and disfranchised negroes instead of punishing rascals.

No one has expressed this more convincingly than a negro who was himself a member of the Reconstruction legislature of South Carolina and who spoke at the convention which disfranchised him, against one of the onslaughts of Tillman:

The gentleman from Edgefield [Mr. Tillman] speaks of the piling up of the State debt; of jobbery and speculation during the period between 1869 and 1873 in South Carolina, but he has not found voice eloquent enough, nor pen exact enough to mention those imperishable gifts bestowed upon South Carolina between 1873 and 1876 by Negro legislators—the laws relative to finance, the building of penal and charitable institutions, and, greatest of all, the establishment of the public school system. Starting as infants in legislation in 1869, many wise measures were not thought of, many injudicious acts were passed. But in the administration of affairs for the next four years, having learned by experience the result of bad acts, we immediately passed reformatory laws touching every department of state, county, municipal and town governments. These enactments are today upon the statute books of South Carolina. They stand as living witnesses of the Negro's fitness to vote and legislate upon the rights of mankind.

When we came into power town governments could lend the credit of their respective towns to secure funds at any rate of interest that the council saw fit to pay. Some of the towns paid as high as twenty per cent. We passed an act prohibiting town governments from pledging the credit of their hamlets for money bearing a greater rate of interest than five per cent.

Up to 1874, inclusive, the State Treasurer had the power to pay out State funds as he pleased. He could elect whether he would pay out the funds on appropriations that would place the money in the hands of the speculators, or would apply them to appropriations that were honest and necessary. We saw the evil of this and passed an act making specific levies and collections of taxes for specific appropriations.

Another source of profligacy in the expenditure of funds was the law that provided for and empowered the levying and collecting of special taxes by school districts, in the name of the schools. We saw its evil and by a constitutional amendment provided that there should

only be levied and collected annually a tax of two mills for school purposes, and took away from the school districts the power to levy and to collect taxes of any kind. By this act we cured the evils that had been inflicted upon us in the name of the schools, settled the public school question for all time to come, and established the system upon an honest, financial basis.

Next, we learned during the period from 1869 to 1874, inclusive, that what was denominated the floating indebtedness, covering the printing schemes and other indefinite expenditures, amounted to nearly \$2,000,000. A conference was called of the leading Negro representatives in the two houses together with the State Treasurer, also a Negro. After this conference we passed an act for the purpose of ascertaining the bona fide floating debt and found that it did not amount to more than \$250,000 for the four years; we created a commission to sift that indebtedness and to scale it. Hence when the Democratic party came into power they found the floating debt covering the legislative and all other expenditures, fixed at the certain sum of \$250,000. This same class of Negro legislators led by the State Treasurer, Mr. F. L. Cardoza, knowing that there were millions of fraudulent bonds charged against the credit of the State, passed another act to ascertain the true bonded indebtedness, and to provide for its settlement. Under this law, at one sweep, those entrusted with the power to do so, through Negro legislators, stamped six millions of bonds, denominated as conversion bonds, "fraudulent". The commission did not finish its work before 1876. In that year, when the Hampton government came into power, there were still to be examined into and settled under the terms of the act passed by us providing for the legitimate bonded indebtedness of the state, a little over two and a half million dollars worth of bonds and coupons which had not been passed upon.

Governor Hampton, General Hagood, Judge Simonton, Judge Wallace and in fact, all of the conservative thinking Democrats aligned themselves under the provision enacted by us for the certain and final settlement of the bonded indebtedness and appealed to their Democratic legislators to stand by the Republican legislation on the subject and to confirm it. A faction in the Democratic party obtained a majority of the Democrats in the legislature against settling the question and they endeavored to open up anew the whole subject of the state debt. We had a little over thirty members in the house and enough Republican senators to sustain the Hampton conservative faction and to stand up for honest finance, or by our votes place the debt question of the old state into the hands of the plunderers and speculators. We were appealed to by General Hagood, through me, and my answer to him was in these words: "General, our people have learned the difference between profligate and honest legislation. We have passed acts of financial reform, and with the assistance of God when the vote shall have been taken, you will be able to record for the thirty odd Negroes, slandered though they have been through the press, that they voted solidly with you all for honest legislation and the preservation of the credit of the State." The thirty odd Negroes in the legislature and their senators, by their votes did settle the debt question and saved the state \$13,000,000. We were eight years in power. We had built school houses, established charitable institutions, built and maintained the penitentiary system, provided for the education of the deaf and dumb, rebuilt the jails and

court houses, rebuilt the bridges and re-established the ferries. In short, we had reconstructed the State and placed it upon the road to prosperity and, at the same time, by our acts of financial reform transmitted to the Hampton Government an indebtedness not greater by more than \$2,500,000 than was the bonded debt of the State in 1868, before the Republican Negroes and their white allies came into power.¹⁹

So, too, in Louisiana in 1872 and in Mississippi later the better element of the Republicans triumphed at the polls and joining with the Democrats instituted reforms, repudiated the worst extravagance, and started toward better things. But unfortunately there was one thing that the white South feared more than negro dishonesty, ignorance, and incompetency, and that was negro honesty, knowledge, and efficiency.

In the midst of all these difficulties the negro governments in the South accomplished much of positive good. We may recognize three things which negro rule gave to the South:

1. Democratic government.
2. Free public schools.
3. New social legislation.

Two states will illustrate conditions of government in the South before and after negro rule. In South Carolina there was before the war a property qualification for office-holders, and, in part, for voters. The Constitution of 1868, on the other hand, was a modern democratic document starting (in marked contrast to the old constitutions) with a declaration that "We, the People", framed it, and preceded by a broad Declaration of Rights which did away with property qualifications and based representation directly on population instead of property. It especially took up new subjects of social legislation, declaring navigable rivers free public highways, instituting homestead exemptions, establishing boards of county commissioners, providing for a new penal code of laws, establishing universal manhood suffrage "without distinction of race or color", devoting six sections to charitable and penal institutions and six to corporations, providing separate property for married women, etc. Above all, eleven sections of the Tenth Article were devoted to the establishment of a complete public-school system.

So satisfactory was the constitution thus adopted by negro suffrage and by a convention composed of a majority of blacks that the state lived twenty-seven years under it without essential change and when the constitution was revised in 1895, the revision

¹⁹ Speech of Thomas E. Miller, one of the six negro members of the South Carolina Constitutional Convention of 1895. The speech was not published in the *Journal* but may be found in the *Occasional Papers* of the American Negro Academy, no. 6, pp. 11-13.

was practically nothing more than an amplification of the Constitution of 1868. No essential advance step of the former document was changed except the suffrage article.

In Mississippi the Constitution of 1868 was, as compared with that before the war, more democratic. It not only forbade distinctions on account of color but abolished all property qualifications for jury service, and property and educational qualifications for suffrage; it required less rigorous qualifications for office; it prohibited the lending of the credit of the state for private corporations—an abuse dating back as far as 1830. It increased the powers of the governor, raised the low state salaries, and increased the number of state officials. New ideas like the public-school system and the immigration bureau were introduced and in general the activity of the state greatly and necessarily enlarged. Finally, that was the only constitution ever submitted to popular approval at the polls. This constitution remained in force twenty-two years.

In general the words of Judge Albion W. Tourgee, a “carpet-bagger”, are true when he says of the negro governments:

They obeyed the Constitution of the United States, and annulled the bonds of states, counties, and cities which had been issued to carry on the war of rebellion and maintain armies in the field against the Union. They instituted a public school system in a realm where public schools had been unknown. They opened the ballot box and jury box to thousands of white men who had been debarred from them by a lack of earthly possessions. They introduced home rule into the South. They abolished the whipping post, the branding iron, the stocks and other barbarous forms of punishment which had up to that time prevailed. They reduced capital felonies from about twenty to two or three. In an age of extravagance they were extravagant in the sums appropriated for public works. In all of that time no man's rights of person were invaded under the forms of law. Every Democrat's life, home, fireside and business were safe. No man obstructed any white man's way to the ballot box, interfered with his freedom of speech, or boycotted him on account of his political faith.²⁰

A thorough study of the legislation accompanying these constitutions and its changes since would of course be necessary before a full picture of the situation could be given. This has not been done, but so far as my studies have gone I have been surprised at the comparatively small amount of change in law and government which the overthrow of negro rule brought about. There were sharp and often hurtful economies introduced marking the return of property to power, there was a sweeping change of officials, but the main body of Reconstruction legislation stood.

²⁰ *Occasional Papers* of the American Negro Academy, no. 6, p. 10; *Chicago Weekly Inter Ocean*, December 26, 1890.

This democracy brought forward new leaders and men and definitely overthrew the old Southern aristocracy. Among these new men were negroes of worth and ability. John R. Lynch when speaker of the Mississippi house of representatives was given a public testimonial by Republicans and Democrats and the leading Democratic paper said:

His bearing in office had been so proper, and his rulings in such marked contrast to the partisan conduct of the ignoble whites of his party who have aspired to be leaders of the blacks, that the conservatives cheerfully joined in the testimonial.²¹

Of the colored treasurer of South Carolina, Governor Chamberlain said:

I have never heard one word or seen one act of Mr. Cardozo's which did not confirm my confidence in his personal integrity and his political honor and zeal for the honest administration of the State Government. On every occasion, and under all circumstances, he has been against fraud and jobbery, and in favor of good measures and good men.²²

Jonathan C. Gibbs, a colored man and the first state superintendent of instruction in Florida, was a graduate of Dartmouth. He established the system and brought it to success, dying in harness in 1874. Such men—and there were others—ought not to be forgotten or confounded with other types of colored and white Reconstruction leaders.

There is no doubt but that the thirst of the black man for knowledge—a thirst which has been too persistent and durable to be mere curiosity or whim—gave birth to the public free-school system of the South. It was the question upon which black voters and legislators insisted more than anything else and while it is possible to find some vestiges of free schools in some of the Southern States before the war yet a universal, well-established system dates from the day that the black man got political power. Common-school instruction in the South, in the modern sense of the term, was begun for negroes by the Freedmen's Bureau and missionary societies, and the state public-school systems for all children were formed mainly by negro Reconstruction governments. The earlier state constitutions of Mississippi "from 1817 to 1865 contained a declaration that 'Religion, morality and knowledge being necessary to good government, the preservation of liberty and the happiness of mankind, schools and the means of education shall forever be encouraged.' It was not, however, until 1868 that encouragement was given to any general system of public schools meant to embrace

²¹ Jackson (Mississippi) *Clarion*, April 24, 1873.

²² Allen, *Governor Chamberlain's Administration in South Carolina*, p. 82.

the whole youthful population." The Constitution of 1868 makes it the duty of the legislature to establish "a uniform system of free public schools, by taxation or otherwise, for all children between the ages of five and twenty-one years". In Alabama the Reconstruction Constitution of 1868 provided that "It shall be the duty of the Board of Education to establish throughout the State, in each township or other school district which it may have created, one or more schools at which all the children of the State between the ages of five and twenty-one years may attend free of charge." Arkansas in 1868, Florida in 1869, Louisiana in 1868, North Carolina in 1869, South Carolina in 1868, and Virginia in 1870, established school systems. The Constitution of 1868 in Louisiana required the general assembly to establish "at least one free public school in every parish", and that these schools should make no "distinction of race, color or previous condition". Georgia's system was not fully established until 1873.

We are apt to forget that in all human probability the granting of negro manhood suffrage and the passage of the Fifteenth Amendment were decisive in rendering permanent the foundation of the negro common school. Even after the overthrow of the negro governments, if the negroes had been left a servile caste, personally free, but politically powerless, it is not reasonable to think that a system of common schools would have been provided for them by the Southern States. Serfdom and education have ever proven contradictory terms. But when Congress, backed by the nation, determined to make the negroes full-fledged voting citizens, the South had a hard dilemma before her: either to keep the negroes under as an ignorant proletariat and stand the chance of being ruled eventually from the slums and jails, or to join in helping to raise these wards of the nation to a position of intelligence and thrift by means of a public-school system. The "carpet-bag" governments hastened the decision of the South, and although there was a period of hesitation and retrogression after the overthrow of negro rule in the early seventies, yet the South saw that to abolish negro schools in addition to nullifying the negro vote would invite Northern interference; and thus eventually every Southern state confirmed the work of the negro legislators' and maintained the negro public schools along with the white.

Finally, in legislation covering property, the wider functions of the state, the punishment of crime and the like, it is sufficient to say that the laws on these points established by Reconstruction legislatures were not only different from and even revolutionary to the

laws in the older South, but they were so wise and so well suited to the needs of the new South that in spite of a retrogressive movement following the overthrow of the negro governments the mass of this legislation, with elaboration and development, still stands on the statute books of the South.

Reconstruction constitutions, practically unaltered, were kept in

Florida, 1868-1885 17 years.

Virginia, 1870-1902 32 years.

South Carolina, 1868-1895 27 years.

Mississippi, 1868-1890 22 years.

Even in the case of states like Alabama, Georgia, North Carolina, and Louisiana, which adopted new constitutions to signify the overthrow of negro rule, the new constitutions are nearer the model of the Reconstruction document than they are to the previous constitutions. They differ from the negro constitutions in minor details but very little in general conception.

Besides this there stands on the statute books of the South to-day law after law passed between 1868 and 1876, and which has been found wise, effective, and worthy of preservation.

Paint the "carpet-bag" governments and negro rule as black as may be, the fact remains that the essence of the revolution which the overturning of the negro governments made was to put these black men and their friends out of power. Outside the curtailing of expenses and stopping of extravagance, not only did their successors make few changes in the work which these legislatures and conventions had done, but they largely carried out their plans, followed their suggestions, and strengthened their institutions. Practically the whole new growth of the South has been accomplished under laws which black men helped to frame thirty years ago. I know of no greater compliment to negro suffrage.

W. E. BURGHARDT DU BOIS.

DOCUMENTS

Documents relative to the Adjustment of the Roman Catholic Organization in the United States to the Conditions of National Independence, 1783-1789.

It was the general policy of the Roman Catholic Church to recognize in its ecclesiastical administration the actual governmental conditions in America. The Spanish possessions, as they changed from time to time, were under the direction of the Spanish crown and the papal nuncio at Madrid; those of France were under the more immediate superintendence of the nuncio at Paris;¹ and the responsibility for those of England, at least from 1746,² rested upon the vicar-general at London, who reported through the nuncio at Brussels.³ At Rome the management of all these fell to the Congregation of the Propaganda. The cession of Canada to England in 1763 led to a practical modification of this system, as the bishop and chapter of Quebec kept up their connection with Rome through an agent at Paris, generally the director of the Seminary of Foreign Missions, and the nuncio at Paris;⁴ but the patronage of the see passed from the hands of the King of France.⁵

It was natural, therefore, that the situation created by the treaty of Paris in 1783 should engage the attention of the papal statesmen, even though the ravages of the Barbary pirates made any temporal relations between the Pontifical and the United States improbable. To continue the spiritual direction in the hands of the vicar-general at London would seem to court the disfavor of the Americans; and besides, that direction had never been very effective, and was likely to be less so now that the Society of Jesus, to which the American priests belonged, had been dissolved.⁶ An element of novelty was introduced by the fact that the United States were the first independent nation in America, and were without a European metropolis. It was therefore natural to consider the possibility that

¹ Propaganda Archives, Atti, vol. I., f. 3; February 4, 1622.

² *Id.*, Atti, ff. 176-182; July 9, 1746.

³ See note 1.

⁴ Propaganda Archives, Scrittura Riferite, America Settentrionale, Canada, etc., 1668 al 1791, vol. I., *passim*. "Congregazioni Particolari", vol. 137, ff. 1-71.

⁵ *Id.*, ff. 47-50.

⁶ July 21, 1773. Shea, *Carroll*, p. 38.

France, their ally, might act as intermediary. Another novel element was the refusal of the United States government to intermeddle in ecclesiastical affairs, while instructing Franklin to testify to the papal nuncio their respect "to his sovereign and state".⁷ The following letters show the care and good judgment devoted to this delicate situation, although the fact that no special congregation was appointed to consider it, and that the first settlement was reached without even referring the matter to the full congregation,⁸ would seem to indicate that its importance was underestimated.

The correspondence furnishes another illustration of the divergence of French and American interests which was apparent in the peace negotiations. The French government was undoubtedly influenced in making its liberal offers of educational assistance by the desire to strengthen in America the party which favored the French alliance, and it was only the protest of the American Catholics which prevented their being brought into closer dependence upon France.⁹

The documents given here are all from the archives of the Propaganda at Rome. The regular diplomatic correspondence between the papal secretary of state and the nuncio at Paris contains nothing pertinent.¹⁰ None of these documents have been previously published, although some of them have been used by Dr. J. D. G. Shea in his *Life and Times of the Most Rev. John Carroll*.¹¹ He cites also documents from the papers of Archbishop Carroll, and from the French archives, which are pertinent to this subject, but which are not given here.¹²

CARL RUSSELL FISH.

I. INSTRUCTIONS FOR THE NUNCIO IN PARIS (DORIA PAMPHILI).¹³

I. Istruzione per Monsignor Nunzio di Francia mandata con Lettera di Congregazione il 15 Gennaro 1783 dopo averne riportata l'Approvazione di Nostro Signore.

In occasione delle paci generali, che sonosi concluse fra i principi dell' Europa, la Santa Sede è stata solita di sempre invigilare con somma

⁷ *Secret Journals of Congress*, IV. 493; May 11, 1784.

⁸ The documents presented to the full congregation in 1789, at the time of the creation of the bishopric of Baltimore, were chiefly of a formal character; the real adoption of a policy was in 1784.

⁹ Shea, *Carroll*, pp. 204-248. Dr. Shea seems to exaggerate the maliciousness of the French government, not entirely escaping that animus which influences nearly all writing on the subject, on whichever side.

¹⁰ Archivio Vaticano, Nunziatura di Francia, vol. 556, July 14, 1783, notes the formal calls of Franklin, Adams, and Jay.

¹¹ Shea, *Carroll*, pp. 204-248.

¹² The typewritten copies of most of these letters reached me after leaving Rome, and I was consequently unable to collate them with the originals, and I have refrained from making any changes save in one or two cases where it was obvious that the wrong letter had been struck.

¹³ Istruzioni, vol. I., ff. 41-44.

sollecitudine per gl' intressi o comuni della religione, o suoi particolari, cioè de' propri patrimonj e giurisdizioni. Quindi è che ai congressi di dette paci ha spediti o dei cardinali legati a latere, o dei prelati nunzi apostolici. Il trattato che va a conchiudersi tra le potenze belligeranti d'Europa non è certamente di quell' importanza, nè ha quei rapporti alla religione, e ai diritti della Sede Apostolica, ch' esigga una spedizione di un ablegato. Contuttociò essendosi già stabilita l'indipendenza delle provincie unite d'America dall' Inghilterra, e potendosi pur prevedere, che qualche altro paese o provincia passi in altrui dominio, sembra necessario che Nostro Signore prenda qualche pensiero e sollecitudine per l'esercizio, e conservazione della religion cattolica in quegli stati.

A quest' effetto è necessario che monsignor nunzio resti informato, che tutte le possessioni dell' Inghilterra o nel continente o nell' isole dell' America, eccettuatone il Canadà ove dopo il passaggio di questo regno al dominio Britannico si è sempre conservato il proprio vescovo in Quebec, come si era in tempo del governo francese, in vigore dell' articolo IV di pace segnato in Parigi li 10 Febbraio 1763, dipendevano nello spirituale dal vicario apostolico di Londra, e ciò non solo per un' antichissima consuetudine, ma ancora per autorità dei decreti della Sacra Congregazione di Propaganda approvati da Sommi Pontefici. Tutti i missionarj pertanto di quelle vaste contrade ricevevano le facoltà per l'esercizio del ministero apostolico dal sopradetto vicario apostolico di Londra. Non si sa precisamente, qual sia al presente il numero dei cattolici, e quanto vi fiorisca la cattolica religione in quelle possessioni degli Inglesi. Da una relazione del 1756,¹⁴ che è l'ultima mandata alla congregazione di Propaganda dal vicario apostolico di Londra si rileva, che nella Marylandia vi erano da diecimila cattolici comunicanti, i quali venivano assistiti da dodici sacerdoti della soppressa Compagnia di Gesù: nella Pensilvania se ne contavano cinquemila, serviti essi pure da quattro missionarii Gesuiti; nella Virginia, nella nuova Yorck, nella Jersey vi erano soltanto dei cattolici dispersi quà e là, ed ignoravasi anche dal vicario se avessero sacerdoti, che loro potessero amministrare i sacramenti, e se in quegli abitanti vi fosse tollerato l'esercizio della cattolica religione. Or siccome la prossima dichiarazione dell' indipendente sovranità di tutte queste provincie rompe tutti i vincoli di subordinazione politica e civile, che avevano col governo Britannico, così ancora rimarrà sciolto di sua natura ogni legame nelle materie religiose, e perciò verrà tolta ogni influenza e direzione, che vi ha avuta fino a questi tempi il vicario apostolico di Londra. Le parti dunque del nunzio apostolico alla corte di Francia nelle presenti circostanze dovrebbero esser quelle di impegnare efficacemente lo zelo e la pietà di Sua Maestà Cristianissima, acciocchè mediante l'efficace influsso, che egli ha sui principali capi del congresso Americano, si compiaccia d'interporre la valevole sua autorità in farsi, che tra le convenzioni solenni di pace, da rimaner garantite dalla pubblica fede, non sia dimenticato l'importantissimo articolo concernente il libero esercizio e conservazione della religione cattolica, e tanto più che dopo la dimora, che hanno fatto in quelle provincie le truppe francesi, vi abbia la religione cattolica fatto qualche progresso.

Oltre poi questo generale interesse, che come figlio primogenito dee

¹⁴ This is apparently the relation found in this archive, in the *Scritture Riferite, America Centrale*, vol. I., ff. 290-291, and dated August 2, 1763. See also Shea, *Carroll*, p. 52.

prendere il re cristianissimo alla dilatazione della chiesa cattolica, non può essere a meno che molti sudditi della Maestà Sua, o si fermino in quelle provincie, o vi abbiano luoghi, o frequenti accessi per ragion di commercio, e quindi a vantaggio della salute spirituale di essi debb' essere pure a cuore della Maestà Sua che i suoi sudditi trovino colà dei sacerdoti, i quali amministino loro i sacramenti, e gli assistano in tutti gli altri loro bisogni spirituali.

Altre volte ha sperimentato la Sede Apostolica quanto efficace fosse la protezione del re di Francia a pro della religione in occasione di simili trattati di pace. Vaglia per tutti l'articolo quarto della pace di Riswich seguita nell' anno 1697. Luigi XIV avea colle sue vittoriose armi invaso tutti i stati della Casa Palatina infetti dall' eresia, e siccome durante la stazione delle truppe francesi, la religione cattolica vi avea fatto de' progressi, perciò nell' articolo quarto di detta pace fu convenuto così: *Religione tamen catholica Romana in locis sic restitutis in statu quo nunc est, remanente.* E non meno efficace e favorevole alla religione cattolica è il sopracitato articolo 4° del trattato di Parigi del 1763, per cui nel Canada quantunque dominato da una potenza eretica, vi si conserva e fiorisce il cattolicismo. Quanto pertanto si trovasse alla corte di Francia l'opportuno favore per l'inserzione di un articolo preservativo del pubblico esercizio della religion cattolica nella repubblica delle provincie unite d'America farebbe pur di mestieri implorare il patrocinio di Sua Maestà Cristianissima per concertare un piano di missioni e missionarj in servizio dei cattolici colà dimoranti. Siccome prima dipendevano dal vicario apostolico di Londra, così il sistema più ovvio e anche più proficuo sarebbe di stabilire in qualcuna delle principali città un vicario apostolico col carattere vescovile scelto tra i sudditi della nuova repubblica, il quale avesse dalla Sede Apostolica le facoltà per governare spiritualmente i cattolici di tutte quelle regioni, e a lui poi dovrebbe darsi l'incarico di stabilire varie stazioni di missionari più o meno numerose, a proporzione del bisogno di ciascuna provincia. Si propone un vescovo Vicario apostolico, poichè potrebbe questo supplire a tutti i bisogni e per l'amministrazione della cresima, e per l'ordinazione ancora di qualche chierico tra sudditi della nuova repubblica, e così si toglierebbe la gelosia di stato, se questi nuovi repubblicani fossero costretti per ricevere i detti sacramenti, ricorrere ai vescovi soggetti ad altro dominio. Ma quando per altri riflessi alieni fossero i capi del Congresso Americano di ammettere nel seno della loro patria alcun vescovo, potrebbero in sua vece sostituire un prefetto generale di quelle missioni, a cui, fuori delle ordinazioni, dandosi l'istesso titolo e facoltà di Vicario Apostolico, ne potrebbe adempiere come quello perfettamente le veci. Se si trovassero de nazionali, dovrebbero esser questi sempre preferiti tanto pel vicariato apostolico con carattere vescovile, quanto per la semplice prefettura, e per il solo ufficio altresì di missionario, ma se non vi fossero, o non vi fossero degl'idonei, dovrebbe esser permesso di chiamarli dagli esteri dominj, ma sempre tra quelli che fossero più imparziali e più accettati al governo.

Dovrebbe anche convenirsi dei mezzi della sussistenza temporale di questi ministri evangelici. Sarà difficile, che a questo voglia concorrere la pubblica dominante sovranità, quantunque la ragion delle genti richieda, che i sudditi d' uno stato vengano istruiti sufficientemente di quella ragione, che loro si concede di professare, e che quei, che sono impiegati in questa istruzione, che rende gli uomini buoni e fedeli citta-

dini, e che è coerente al pubblico bene, siano dal pubblico mantenuti. Ma per non diffcultare per cagion d'interesse temporale, il bene spirituale di tante anime, sarà pronta la congregazione di propaganda di dare un congruo assegnamento o al Vescovo, o al prefetto Vicarii Apostolici sperandosi, che gli altri missionarii potranno ricevere il loro sostentamento dalle elemosine dei fedeli, e molto più se saranno Francesi, e per servire ai sudditi di Sua Maestà Cristianissima lo riceveranno dalla sua regia e liberale munificenza.

II. THE NUNCIO IN PARIS TO THE CARDINAL PREFECT (ANTONELLI).¹⁵

Emin. e Revmo Sig. Sig. Padrone Colendissimo.

*(Sig. Card. Antonelli, prefetto della
S. Congregazione di Propaganda, Roma.)*

Resi consapevole il signor conte di Vergennes nella conferenza di martedì della scorsa settimana della istanza, che coll' oracolo di Nostro Signore della Sagra Congregazione di Propaganda Fide per mezzo di Vostra Eminenza mi è stata fatta, affinchè nel trattato di pace, che è per farsi tra le potenze, che sin quì sono state in guerra, si abbia il pensiero d'inserire qualche articolo per la conservazione e dilatazione della religione cattolica. Il nominato regio ministro, che di già all' articolo VIII dei preliminari di pace, sottoscritti in Versailles da esso come ministro plenipotenziario del re Cristianissimo, e dal signor Alleyne Fitz-Herbert ministro plenipotenziario del re della Gran Bretagna, ha avuto premura di assicurare la tranquillità in materia di religione a quei sudditi, che ritornano sotto la dominazione inglese, l'avrà ancora similmente nell' estensione del trattato di pace, al qual' effetto non lascerà di osservare quel che in riguardo della religione si stabilì nel trattato di pace del 1763. In quanto agli Stati Uniti dell'America Settentrionale che in avvenire saranno riconosciuti una nuova sovrana repubblica, il prelodato signor conte si lusinga, che, oltrechè nella stessa repubblica per massima fondamentale si tollerano tutte le religioni, e se ne ammette il pubblico esercizio, non solamente si acconsentirà, che vi siano de' missionarj cattolici, ma che altresì si elegga un vicario apostolico nazionale di carattere vescovile. Fu da me pregato di prevenire il signor Francklin ministro plenipotenziario della repubblica degli Stati Uniti dell' America settentrionale, che io gli avrei parlato di quest' affare, come farò, allorquando dal signor conte di Vergennes avrò inteso quel che su di ciò dal signor Francklin avrà riportato. E riserbandomi d'informare l'Eminenza Vostra dell' esito, che avranno tali mie diligenze, pronto sempre ad eseguire i suoi veneratissimi comandi, con tutto l'ossequio mi pregio di essere

Di Vostra Eminenza

Umilissimo, divotissimo, obbligatissimo servitore
G. Arcivescovo di SELEUCIA.

PARIGI 10 Febbraio 1783.

[Endorsed]: Buoni ufficii fatti da Monsignor Nuncio per garantire la religione nel trattato di pace.

Risposto 15 Marzo 1783.

¹⁵ Scritture Riferite, America Centrale, vol. II., f. 186.

III. THE CARDINAL PREFECT TO THE NUNCIO IN PARIS.¹⁶

A Monsignor Arcivescovo di Seleucia Nunzio Apostolico in Parigi.

19 Marzo 1783.

Mi è poi riuscito di gran consolazione l'intendere la premura che tiene codesto degno ministro signor conte di Vergennes di assicurare nel trattato di pace con l'Inghilterra la tranquillità della nostra santa religione cattolica, e le speranze che ci dà, che anche nelle provincie degli Stati Uniti dell' America non solo si acconsentirà, che vi siano de' missionarj cattolici, ma che si elegga altresì un Vicario Apostolico nazionale col carattere vescovile, cosa che potrà molto giovare al bene delle anime e alla propagazione della fide. Attenderò frattanto con impazienza l'esito dell' abboccamento, che Ella sperava di fare su questo proposito col Signor Franklin ministro plenipotenziario di quella repubblica. . . .

IV. THE NUNCIO TO THE CARDINAL PREFECT.¹⁷

Eminentissimo e Revmo Signore Signore Padrone Colendissimo.

(Sig. Card. Antonelli, prefetto della

Sagra Congregazione di Propaganda Fide, Roma.)

Accompagnati dal presente mio rispettoso foglio ho l'onore di trasmettere a Vostra Eminenza tre altri distinti colle lettere A. B. C., e relativi al raccomandatomi stabilimento delle missioni apostoliche nella nuova repubblica degli Stati Uniti dell' America settentrionale. Il primo è una copia di una nota, o sia memoria da me inviata al Signor Franklin ministro plenipotenziario della detta nuova repubblica; ed il secondo, e terzo sono le copie di una nota, e di alcune osservazioni sulla mia fatte dal medesimo signor Franklin, a cui, per prender tempo a dargli una categorica risposta, mi son ristretto di semplicemente assicurare la ricevuta degli accennati suoi fogli. Da questi l'Eminenza Vostra rileverà che il Signor Franklin pensa, che la nostra corte, o sia la Sagra Congregazione di Propaganda da se stessa potrà prendere tutte quelle misure utili ai cattolici di America, senza ledere le costituzioni e che il Congresso non mancherà di approvare tacitamente la scelta, che la Sagra Congregazione di concerto col ministro plenipotenziario degli Stati Uniti farà di un ecclesiastico Francese, che, residente sempre in Francia, col mezzo di un suffraganeo in America regolerà gli affari de' cattolici, che vi sono stabiliti, o vi si vorranno stabilire. Su di ciò sono di parere, che non un ecclesiastico francese, ma il nunzio apostolico pro tempore di Francia colla intelligenza di cotesta Sagra Congregazione potrà incaricare un ecclesiastico col carattere di vescovo, di prefetto, o di vicario apostolico per l'accennato regolamento. Non essendovi però in America, come dice il Signor Franklin, nella sua nota C, alcun collegio, o stabilimento, nè speranza di una imposizione pubblica per l'istruzione necessaria di un ecclesiastico cattolico, Vostra Eminenza ben riconoscerà, convien pensare ad altro partito, e che quello, che il signor Franklin mette in vista de' quattro stabilimenti de' religiosi Inglesi, esistenti in Francia, non può e non deve esser proposto, non che accettato. L'ultimo paragrafo di detta nota C. merita tutta la considerazione, e tende al conseguimento di quel, che si puo desiderare. Del contenuto

¹⁶ Lettere, vol. 242, f. 196.

¹⁷ Scritture Riferite, America Centrale, vol. II., ff. 206-213.

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degli accennati fogli ho creduto bene fare la comunicazione al signor Conte di Vergennes, uomo veramente di stato, e pieno di zelo, e attaccamento per la nostra santa cattolica religione, ed avendolo pregato ad interporli per vedere di rinvenire la maniera di poter fissare in Francia pel desiderato stabilimento un collegio, ove si possano formare tanti preti, quanti saranno necessari pel bene spirituale de' cattolici Romani, che si trovano, o si troveranno negli stati dell' anzidetta nuova repubblica, il medesimo regio ministro, nell' assicurarmi, che ben volentieri darà tutta la mano per l'esecuzione dell' attual progetto, mi suggerì di parteciparlo a Monsignor Vescovo di Autun, affinchè egli, che ha il foglio de' beneficii ecclesiastici di questo regno, co' suoi lumi, e buoni uffici concorra allo stabilimento del progettato collegio o a San Malò o a Nantes, o a l'Orient o in qualche altra città di quel regno prossima all' oceano, essendo però necessario, che avanti si trovino gli occorrenti fondi, e si sappia all' incirca qual numero di preti abbisogneranno per i cattolici romani abitanti negli Stati Uniti dell' America, e se vi sono soggetti portati ad abbracciare gli studi, e lo stato ecclesiastico. Mercoledì pertanto ebbi un abboccamento con Monsignor Vescovo d'Autun; ed insieme restammo di conferirne sabato della scorsa settimana col signor conte di Vergennes. A quest' effetto in detto giorno mi trasferii a Versailles, ed il signor conte di Vergennes, ed il nominato prelato mi si mostrarono impegnati per trovare gli occorrenti fondi per un affare di tanta importanza. Mentre a ciò si andrà pensando, l'Eminenza Vostra si compiacerà di darmi quelle notizie che ha della missione dell' America settentrionale, e procurarsene le altre da quell' ecclesiastico, che vi presiede, incaricandolo a significarle quanti preti si trovano in quegli stati, e quanti ve ne possano abbisognare. Per avere tali notizie io ancora procurerò, dopo aver ricevuto la risposta di Vostra Eminenza, di fare scrivere dal signor conte di Vergennes al signor cavaliere de la Luzerne ministro plenipotenziario del re cristianissimo presso gli Stati Uniti dell' America settentrionale da tre anni a questa parte, ed amato e stimato grandemente da quei popoli. Ma, eccettuato il Santo Padre, l'Eminenza Vostra avrà la degnazione di non comunicare al suddetto ecclesiastico, nè a qualunque altra persona quel che da me si è trattato col signor conte di Vergennes, e con Monsignor Vescovo d'Autun, poichè riducesi ad un puro progetto, del quale non è bene di parlare sintantochè non sarà eseguito, o almeno avanzato in maniera, che non possa più frastornarsi da chi forse non vedrà di buon occhio il suddetto stabilimento. Pronto sempre ad eseguire i veneratissimi comandi dell'Eminenza Vostra, passo per fine a rassegnarmi con tutto l'ossequio

Di Vostra Eminenza

Umilissimo, divotissimo, obligatissimo servitore

G. Arcivescovo di SELEUCIA.

PARIGI primo Settembre 1783.

[Endorsed]: America settentrionale.

1° Settembre 1783.

Monsignor Nunzio di Parigi scrive dello stabilimento delle missioni nella nuova Repubblica degli Stati Uniti di America.

Risposto 27 Settembre 1783.

A. NOTTE.¹⁸

Avant la révolution qui vient d'être consommée dans l'Amérique septentrionale, les catholiques et les missionnaires de ces provinces dépendoient dans le spirituel du Vicaire Apostolique résidant à Londres. On sent bien que cet arrangement ne peut plus avoir lieu, mais comme il est essentiel que les catholiques sujets des Etats Unis aient un ecclésiastique qui les gouverne en ce qui concerne leur religion, la Congrégation de Propaganda fide existante à Rome pour l'établissement et la conservation des missions est venue dans la détermination de proposer au congrès d'établir dans quelques villes des Etats Unis de l'Amérique septentrionale un de leurs sujets catholiques avec les pouvoirs de Vicaire Apostolique et avec le caractère d'évêque, ou simplement en qualité de préfet apostolique. L'établissement d'un Evêque Vicaire Apostolique paroît le plus convenable d'autant plus que les sujets catholiques des Etats Unis se trouveroient à portée de recevoir la confirmation et les ordres dans leur propre pays, sans être obligé de se rendre à cet effet dans des pays d'une domination étrangère, et comme il pourroit arriver quelque fois que parmi les sujets des Etats Unis, il n'y eut personne en état d'être chargée du Gouvernement spirituel, soit comme évêque, soit comme préfet apostolique, il seroit nécessaire dans une telle circonstance que le congrès voulut bien consentir à ce qu'on le choisit parmi les sujets d'une nation étrangère la plus amie des Etats Unis.

B. OBSERVATIONS SUR LA NOTTE DE M. LE NONCE APOSTOLIQUE.

M. Franklin après avoir lu la notte de M le Nonce et y avoir murement réfléchi, croit absolument inutile d'envoyer cette notte au congrès, qui d'après ses pouvoirs et ses constitutions ne peut ni ne doit dans aucun cas se mêler des affaires ecclésiastiques d'aucune secte ni d'aucune religion établie en Amérique. Chaque Etat particulier s'est réservé par ses propres constitutions le droit de protéger ses membres, de tolérer leurs opinions religieuses, et de ne s'en mêler en aucune façon tant qu'elles ne troubleraient point l'ordre civil.

M. Franklin pense donc que la Cour de Rome peut prendre d'elle même toutes les mesures utiles aux catholiques d'Amérique, sans blesser les constitutions, et que le congrès ne manquera pas d'approuver tacitement le choix qu'elle voudra faire de concert avec le ministre des Etats Unis, d'un Ecclesiastique françois toujours résidant en France, qui conduira par l'entremise d'un suffragant résident en Amérique toutes les affaires spirituelles des catholiques qui vivent ou qui voudront s'établir dans ces Etats.

Outre beaucoup de raisons politiques qui peuvent faire désirer cet arrangement, M. le Nonce Apostolique doit y en voir beaucoup d'autres qui peuvent être favorables aux intentions de la Cour de Rome.

C. NOTTE SUR LES CATHOLIQUES AMÉRICAINS.

La révolution d'Amérique séparant les interets des colonies de ceux de la métropole, change ainsi les rapports qui lioient les catholiques Américains avec ceux qui vivent sous la domination Angloise. L'unité du gouvernement actuel semble même exiger qu'on tende à diminuer et affaiblir ces liaisons en ôtant toute influence au ministère Britannique sur les sujets des Etats Unis.

¹⁸ A translation of this note is published in Sparks, *Diplomatic Correspondence of the American Revolution*, IV. 158-159; and in many other places.

Il n'existe dans la plupart des colonies aucune fondation, aucun revenu fixe pour l'entretien d'un clergé de quelque religion que ce soit, la législation envisageant cet objet sous le point de vue d'une liberté plus générale, n'a point voulu faire une surcharge publique d'une imposition qui pourroit n'être que volontaire et particulière.

Il n'existe point non plus de collège ni d'établissement public pour l'instruction nécessaire à un Ecclésiastique catholique, voila deux points également essentiels à considérer.

Il existe en France 4 établissements de moines Anglois dont le revenu total peut se monter à 50 ou 60 mille livres. Ces moines sont en petit nombre. La disette de sujets rend ceux qui restent au moins inutiles.

Il seroit possible que le roi de France pour complaire a la Cour de Rome et resserrer les liens d'amitié avec les Etats Unis permit que ces établissements servissent à former, instruire et faire subsister en partie les Ecclesiastiques qui seroient employés en Amérique.

Il conviendrait pour mieux remplir l'objet qu' un des Eveques nommé par le Saint Siège fut un sujet du roi residant en France, toujours à portée d'agir de concert avec le Nonce de Sa Sainteté, et le ministre Américain, et de prendre avec eux les moyens de former les Ecclesiastiques agréables au congrés et utiles aux catholiques Américains.

V. THE CARDINAL PREFECT TO THE NUNCIO.¹⁹

A Monsignor Arcivescovo di Seleucia Nunzio Apostolico in Parigi.

27 Settembre 1783.

Esibitore di questa sarà il signor Giovanni Thayer²⁰ nativo di Boston nella nuova Inghilterra, il quale dopo essersi trattenuto qualche tempo in Roma, se ne viene a Parigi, per indi far ritorno in America. Io lo raccomando efficacemente alla cortese gentilezza di Vostra Signoria, pregandola voler degnarsi di favorirlo ove potesse aver bisogno della sua protezione. Esso è persona di molta probità, e nel soggiorno che qui ha fatto si è sentito mosso da Dio ad abjurare gli errori della sua setta, e rendersi cattolico, dopo di che ha sempre dato buon saggio di una vera e stabile conversione. Sicchè Vostra Signoria impiegherà i suoi uffici in soggetto assai meritevole. E mentre non lascio di assicurarla dell' obbligo e del gradimento, che questa Sacra Congregazione le ne averà, di vero cuore me le offero, e resto.

VI. THE CARDINAL PREFECT TO THE NUNCIO.²¹

A Monsignor Arcivescovo di Seleucia Nunzio Apostolico in Parigi.

27 Settembre 1783.

Ha così bene incominciato Vostra Signoria il grande affare del piano di missione nelle provincie della nuova repubblica degli Stati Uniti dell' America settentrionale che non dubito di sentirlo anche presto da Lei medesima condotto a felicissima conclusione. Il Santo Padre, a cui se ne è fatta relazione, ha molto commendato il di Lei zelo, e la di Lei sagacità nell' aver interessato in questa salutare opera il signor conte di Vergennes e Monsignor Vescovo d'Autun, quegli per la pro-

¹⁹ Lettere, vol. 242, f. 733.

²⁰ 1755-1815. See Appleton's *Cyclopaedia of American Biography*.

²¹ Lettere, vol. 242, f. 753.

tezione come degnissimo primo ministro, questi per la sussistenza dei nuovi operaj, per il foglio che tiene dei benefizi in codesto regno. Però questa Sacra Congregazione non si ritira dalla prima esibizione fatta di concorrere al mantenimento del vicario apostolico insignito di carattere vescovile, o anche di un vescovo quando si volesse, che sarà d'uopo di mettere alla testa dei cattolici, che ritrovansi in detti Stati Uniti.

Secondandosi pertanto le ben sensate insinuazioni di Vostra Signoria, si dovranno fissare i seguenti punti:

I. Di rigettare affatto, e non ammettere ulterior discorso sul progetto fatto dal signor Franklin ministro plenipotenziario della detta nuova repubblica di sopprimere i quattro monasterj dei Benedettini Inglesi, che sono in Francia. Oltre l'odiosità, che s'incontrerebbe colla nazione, e che altererebbe il genio pacifico e generoso di S. M. Cristianissima, sarebbe gravissimo il danno, che ne risentirebbono le missioni dell' Inghilterra, se si sopprimessero i detti quattro monasteri; poichè la congregazione Benedettina Anglicana, che somministra circa quaranta missionari, i quali travagliano al bene delle anime in Inghilterra, si ridurrebbe al solo monistero, che, unito ai quattro di Francia, forma il pieno di tutti i monasteri di detta benemerita congregazione.

II. Il nunzio di Francia, e Vostra Signoria l'ha opportunamente rilevato al signor Franklin, dovrebbe avere la soprintendenza di queste missioni Americane, come accade nel nunzio di Brusselles per le missioni di Olanda, ed esso poi se l'intenderebbe col ministro degli Stati Uniti residente in Parigi, sempre che vi fosse d'uopo di andar con esso di concerto per il maggior bene di quelle missioni. Questo stabilimento sarebbe anche compatibile con un agente, che dal vicario apostolico, o dal vescovo da stabilirsi negli Stati Uniti, si volesse tenere in Parigi in persona di qualche ecclesiastico Francese, il quale nei bisogni facesse capo dal ministro dei medesimi stati, e dal nunzio. E da desiderare che questa nuova repubblica giunga un giorno a tenere in Parigi un ministro cattolico, ma nel presente sistema, in cui il ministro è eretico, forse della setta dei presbiteriani, o dei non conformisti, che sono le sette dominanti in detti stati, un ecclesiastico francese per agente, che tenesse privato carteggio con il capo della missione, non sarebbe inopportuno, salva sempre la formale corrispondenza tra il nunzio ed il ministro.

III. Si è accennato di sopra, e si replica ora, che par troppo necessario di stabilire che il capo, il quale dovrà avere la giurisdizione sopra tutti i cattolici sudditi della Repubblica Americana sia insignito del carattere di vescovo con titolo di Vicario Apostolico, e quando piacesse, anche di vescovo incardinato, il quale da qualche città in una delle provincie della medesima repubblica, che più si credesse a proposito per la sua residenza, prendesse il titolo. Siccome il maggior numero dei cattolici era nella Marilandia, e nella Pensilvania parrebbe che in una di queste si dovesse fissare detta residenza, ma su questa modalità converrà riportarsi a ciò, che sarà di maggior soddisfazione del ministro, e degli stati. Non vi ha poi dubbio, che i missionari dovrebbero tutti dipendere dal Vicario Apostolico, o vescovo, e da esso ricevere le facoltà, e la destinazione nelle varie stazioni ove fosse maggiore il bisogno. E per tale effetto il Prelato sarà munito delle facoltà più ampie, quali appunto sono quelle della formola prima.

IV. Quanto poi ai soggetti da scegliersi non meno per il vicariato apostolico o vescovado, che per missionarj, pare che il presente sistema chiaramente lo indichi, cioè che si debbano per ora prendere dal ceto

degli ecclesiastici suddetti di Sua Maestà Cristianissima. Ma se col tempo vi fosse qualche naturale del paese abile al sacro ministero, non si dubita, che sarà libero al Vicario o Vescovo di ordinarlo, e di impiegarlo nella missione.

V. Utilissimo poi sarebbe di formare un collegio ecclesiastico per queste sole missioni, o a Nantes, o a S. Malò o al Orient, o in altri luoghi vicini all' Oceano. Ma si prevede, che la vastità dell' idea malagevole ne renderebbe l'esecuzione. Si comprende che monsignor d'Autun col suo favore potrebbe superar tutto, ma non conviene impegnarsi a cose grandi, e dispendiose come sarebbe l'impianto di un nuovo collegio.

VI. Si potrebbe adunque pensare di accrescere di qualche rendita il *seminario delle missioni straniere*, ove già si formano gli ecclesiastici per l'Indie Orientali, o pure, e parrebbe più al caso, quello di S. Esprit, gli ecclesiastici del quale sono addetti alle missioni dell' America meridionale nella Caienna e Guiana, imponendo l'obbligo di mantenersi per ora un discreto numero di ecclesiastici da mandarsi sotto l'accennata dipendenza in America nella provincia degli Stati Uniti. Quando sulle prime si facesse una spedizione di otto, o dieci missionari, oltre al vicario, o vescovo, sarà ben provveduto al presentaneo bisogno di que' cattolici, il numero de' quali non è precisamente noto a questa Sacra Congregazione, come neppur quello dei vecchi operaj, che per la massima parte erano della soppressa compagnia; giacchè da molti anni, nè in dirittura, nè col mezzo del Vicario Apostolico di Londra, sonosi avute più notizie di quel cattolicismo del quale colla istruzione rimessa fin dal giorno 15 Gennaro del presente anno si diede a Vostra Signoria una qualche idea.

VII. Se poi detto numero di operaj si troverà scarso al bisogno, allora vi sarà luogo di crescer le idee per la fissazione di un maggior numero di soggetti, e potranno anche, volendosi formar clero nazionale, stabilirsi in questo collegio di Propaganda due o tre luoghi per gli Americani, come ve li anno tante nazioni di Asia, Affrica ed Europa.

Ma Vostra Signoria che è meglio al fatto delle cose, saprà quali delle notate siano da affacciarsi al ministro, e quali no, su di che Sua Santità e questa Sacra Congregazione riposano nel conosciuto di lei zelo ed attività, di che se ne anno tante splendide riprove; e ringraziandola della lettera acclusami di Monsignor Vicario Apostolico di Londra, resto con vera stima, e di tutto cuore me le offero.

VII. THE NUNCIO TO THE CARDINAL PREFECT.²²

Eminentissimo e Revmo Signore, Signore, Padrone Colendissimo.

(Sig. Card. Antonelli, prefetto della

S. Congregazione di Propaganda Fide, Roma.)

Dopochè avrò informato il signor conte di Vergennes di quanto Vostra Eminenza si è compiaciuta significarmi colla veneratissima sua de' 27 dell' antecedente mese in proposito dell' affare delle missioni da stabilirsi nelle provincie della nuova repubblica degli Stati Uniti dell' America Settentrionale, continuerò a tenerne discorso sino all' ultimazione col signor Franklin ministro plenipotenziario della medesima repubblica; godendo intanto, che piaccia al Santo Padre, e a cotesta Sagra Congregazione quel che sin qui da me si è trattato, ed incaminato.

²² Scritture Riferite, America Centrale, vol. II., f. 230.

Quando mi si presenterà il signor Giovanni Thayer nativo di Boston colla commendatizia della Sagra Congregazione di Propaganda Fide sarà da me accolto bene; e persistendo nella intenzione di abbracciare lo stato ecclesiastico per rendersi utile in qualità di missionario alla propria patria, e non incontrandosi in ciò alcuna difficoltà per parte del signor Franklin, farò uso delle facoltà fornitemi col pontificio rescritto, che l'Eminenza Vostra mi ha trasmesso.

Di Vostra Eminenza umilissimo, divotissimo,
obbligatissimo servitore

G. Arcivescovo [di SELEUCIA].²³

FONTAINEBLEAU 20 Ottobre 1783.

VIII. THE CARDINAL PREFECT TO FATHER ALEXANDER.

R. P. Alexandro Ordinis Cappuccinorum, Vassejum in Gallia.

29 Novembris 1783.

Quod Te ad obeundam in America septentrionali apostolicam missionem promptum paratumque exhibeas, id Sacra Congregatio de propaganda fide pergratum habet, laudatque majorem in modum tuam istam pietatem, et religionis zelum. Veruntamen, quam non ita brevi confici posse videatur negotium, quod in praesens geritur, de catholicorum directione in iis regionibus constituenda, neque adhuc constet, quinam, quibusque ex provinciis desumendi erunt sacerdotes qui illuc mittantur, idcirco nihil certi tuae petitioni respondere possum. Hoc tamen pro certo habeas, si in America septentrionali Cappuccinis locus aliquis esse poterit, me tui desiderii rationem esse habiturum. Interim Deum precor, ut tibi fausta omnia concedat, tuisque me orationibus plurimum commendo.

IX. LUZERNE TO VERGENNES (EXTRACT).²⁴

(Traduzione.) Estratto della spedizione del signor Cavalier della Luzerne al signor conte de Vergennes in data d'Annepoli 31 Gennaro 1784.

Da Monsignor Nunzio Apostolico sono state fatte in nome di Sua Santità alcune proposizioni al Dottor Franklin riguardanti la spedizione d'un vescovo, o vicario apostolico, che il S. Padre desidera far presiedere nelle chiese cattoliche romane di questo continente. Il congresso ha rispettosamente abbracciata una tale apertura. Non ha però potuto prender alcuna cognizione di questo affare, che non è di sua giurisdizione. Concerne il medesimo unicamente i cattolici; ed i delegati, che vi hanno parlato a questo oggetto, m'hanno assicurato, che un vescovo cattolico sarebbe molto ben ricevuto nelli stati di Pensilvania, e molto più in quelli del Maryland, ove sono molti cattolici, purchè ingegnosamente si astenga dal pretendere alcuna giurisdizione, ed autorità temporale. Il congresso in generale vedrebbe con piacere la residenza di un prelato, il quale conferendo gl' ordini per i sacerdoti cattolici di questi luoghi, li esimesse dall' obbligo di riceverli o in Londra, o a Quebec, conforme si è fatto per il passato. Alcuni delegati credevano ancora, che un vescovo cattolico non ricuserebbe di conferir gl' ordini a ministri anglicani dell' America, che fino ad ora sono stati costretti

²³ Lettere, vol. 242, f. 847.

²⁴ Scritture Riferite, America Centrale, vol. II., f. 241.

andarli a procurare in Londra, ma questa pratica non mi sembra conciliabile con la professione, che devono fare quelli che ricevono gl' ordini, nè con l'esame che devon subire. L'assemblee legislative ed il congresso si astengono dall'intrigarsi in affari di religione.

X. THE CARDINAL PREFECT TO THE NUNCIO.²⁵

A Monsignor Doria Arcivescovo di Seleucia Nunzio Apostolico in Parigi.

7 Aprile 1784.

Vostra Signoria ha operato, come suol far sempre, molto saviamente, posponendo l'affare di Monsignor Miroudot all' altro più premuroso assai, riguardante lo stabilimento delle missioni nelle provincie unite della nuova repubblica Americana. Io starò attendendo con quella premura, che Ella può immaginarsi, il risultato della conferenza, vinci unite della nuova repubblica Americana. Io starò attendendo con Monsignor Vescovo d'Autun, e col signor conte di Vergennes, regio ministro, sperando non meno nella di lei zelante attività, che nella bontà della causa di veder conchiuso felicemente un affare di tanta importanza.

XI. THE CARDINAL PREFECT TO LUZERNE.²⁶

(Traduzione.) Copia della nota spedita al Signor Cavalier de la Luzerne, 12 Maggio 1784.

Prima della rivoluzione dell' America settentrionale gli cattolici e missionarj di questi stati per ciò che riguarda la religione, erano affidati alla vigilanza, e direzione del vicario apostolico residente in Londra. Avendo una tale rivoluzione separati gl' interessi dei Stati Uniti da quelli dell' Inghilterra, e cangiata intieramente l'antica loro giurisdizione, ha ben conosciuto la Sacra Congregazione di Propaganda il bisogna di far altre disposizioni per il regolamento di queste missioni: onde Monsignor Arcivescovo di Seleucia nunzio apostolico in Parigi venne incaricato dalla medesima Sacra Congregazione di avanzare al congresso degli Stati Uniti dell' America alcune proposizioni sopra un tale oggetto non meno utile alla religione, ed all' assistenza spirituale dei cattolici, che di gradimento al governo dei Stati medesimi.

Ne fece parola Monsignor Nunzio al signor Franklin, questo ministro però gli rispose, che avendo su di ciò seriamente riflettuto credeva assolutamente inutile il farne parte al congresso, il quale, secondo le di lui costituzioni, e facoltà non puote, nè deve in alcun modo intrigarsi negli affari ecclesiastici; onde essere in potere della Corte Romana di prendere tutte le risoluzioni vantaggiose a cattolici dell' America settentrionale senza offendere le costituzioni. Dopo una tale risposta la Sacra Congregazione per comando di Sua Santità incaricò monsignor nunzio di concertare con i ministri di sua Maestà Cristianissima, e con quello dei Stati Uniti, i mezzi più convenevoli per dare alle missioni dell' America settentrionale lo stabilimento ed estensione, di cui fossero capaci.

Avendo la Maestà del Re Cristianissimo voluto in tale occasione dare un nuovo argomento di sua pietà e dell' interesse che si prende par la conservazione, e dilatazione della religione in tutte le parti del mondo,

²⁵ Lettere, vol. 244, f. 250.

²⁶ Scritture Riferite, America Centrale, vol. II., f. 253.

non ha avuto difficoltà di convenire in un piano utile non meno ai cattolici degli Stati Uniti che al governo di dette provincie; ma per formare una stabile disposizione, ed allontanare tutti gl' inconvenienti e difficoltà, che potessero incontrarsi in esecuzione, fa d'uopo avere alcuni schiarimenti che mettano in istato di compiere quest' oggetto.

1°. Avere esatte istruzioni sopra la condotta e capacità degli ecclesiastici, e missionarj, che trovansi nelle varie provincie dell' America settentrionale; quale di essi sarebbe il più degno e più gradito all' assemblea di tali provincie per essere rivestito del carattere vescovile *in partibus*, e delle qualità di vicario apostolico, riflettendosi, che converrà fissargli la residenza in quella provincia, ove è più grande il numero de' cattolici.

2°. Se tra questi ecclesiastici siavi qualche nazionale del paese mentre essendo questi uno de' più degni in uguaglianza di meriti sarebbe preferito ad ogn' altro di diversa nazione, che si sceglierebbe in mancanza di un nazionale; e qualora le provincie restassero sprovviste di missionarj, si spedirà un francese, perchè vada a stabilirvisi, risiedendo nella provincia di sopra indicata.

3°. Sapere quale sia il numero degl' ecclesiastici e missionarj, quale de cattolici delle differenti provincie, e loro estensione, supponendosi, che in Pensilvania e nel Maryland trovisi il maggior numero. Sarebbe però bene sapere se nelle altre provincie sia anche lo stesso.

4°. Sapere, se nelle dette provincie sianvi le scuole per apprendere la lingua latina, onde quelli giovani, che vogliono incaminarsi allo stato ecclesiastico, possano aver fatto lo studio di umanità, prima d'inoltrarsi nella Francia, o in Roma per applicarsi agli studi di filosofia e teologia.

XII. THE NUNCIO TO LUZERNE.²⁷

(Traduzione.) *Copia di una lettera di Monsignor Nunzio al signor Cavaliere della Luzerne ministro plenipotenziario di Sua Maestà Cristianissima presso gli Stati Uniti dell' America settentrionale.*

PARIGI 12 Maggio 1784.

Ho l'onore di indirizzarle una nota relativa allo stabilimento delle missioni nei Stati Uniti dell' America settentrionale. Il Signor Conte de Vergennes mi ha fatto sperare, che Vostra Signoria vorrà procurarci quei schiarimenti, che sono descritti nella nota medesima, e che potranno condurci a prendere le convenevoli disposizioni per la spedizione di un piano, nel quale per ordine della mia corte sono io d'accordo con li ministri di Sua Maestà Cristianissima, e con quello degli Stati Uniti sopra un oggetto tanto interessante per la religione. Mi stimo felice in potermi dirigere a Vostra Signoria per quest' affare. La di lei perspicacia, ed il zelo mi accertano l'esattezza di tali istruzioni, per le quali la mia corte le professerà obbligazioni. Mi prendo la libertà di accluderle una lettera, che per ordine della S. Congregazione di Propaganda ho io scritto, e che la prego rimettere ad uno dei più antichi missionarj di queste provincie. Ella rileverà dalla medesima che da lui ricerco qualche schiarimento, senza però manifestarmi sull' articolo riguardante il vescovo vicario apostolico e scelta del medesimo. In un' affare così delicato, ed interessante ho creduto dovermi unicamente dirigere alla di Lei saviezza, che con elogio mi è stato parlato dell' Ex-Gesuita Signor Carrol di Maryland, il quale è stato educato in St. Omer, e nel 1776 dal Congresso fu mandato nel Canada col signor Franklin, ed altri commissarii. Spero che Vostra Signoria vorrà su

²⁷ Scritture Riferite, America Centrale, vol. II., f. 257.

di ciò darmi qualche avviso, e significarmi, se lo stima degno d'esser nominato vescovo in *partibus*, e vicario apostolico.

XIII. THE NUNCIO TO THE CARDINAL PREFECT.²⁸

Eminentissimo e Revmo Sig. Sig. Padrone Colendissimo.

(Sig. Card. Antonelli, Prefetto della

S. Congregazione di Propaganda Fide—Roma—con 4 fogli.)

Come prevenni Vostra Eminenza colla mia rispettosa lettera de' 26 Aprile, la sessione dell' importantissimo affare relativo allo stabilimento della missione nelle provincie della nuova repubblica degli Stati Uniti dell' America Settentrionale, per varie cause differita, ebbe luogo in Versailles il dì 3 del corrente tra il signor conte di Vergennes, monsignor vescovo d'Autun e me. Il signor conte di Vergennes lesse un' estratto del dispaccio del signor cavalier de la Luzerne ministro plenipotenziario del re Cristianissimo presso la detta repubblica in data di Annapolis 31 Gennaio 1784, del quale si è poi compiaciuto darmi la copia, che unita al presente foglio ho l'onore di trasmettere all' Eminenza Vostra, affinchè si compiacia rilevare dalla medesima, che, quantunque il signor Franklin si fosse espresso, che credeva assolutamente inutile d'inviare al congresso la nota, che io gli diedi, non ha lasciato di farla pervenire al medesimo congresso, e che da questo si è ricevuta bene, e con rispetto la istanza del Santo Padre da me fatta per l'invio d'un vescovo, o d'un vicario apostolico, e che sarebbe benissimo ricevuto un vescovo nello stato di Pensylvania, e particolarmente in quello del Maryland, ove si trovano più cattolici; ma che il congresso non ha potuto prendere cognizione di quest' affare non essendo in alcuna maniera della sua ispezione.

Dopo aver partecipato quanto Vostra Eminenza si compiacque significarmi colla veneratissima sua lettera de' 27 Settembre 1783, e fatto osservare che a cotesta Sagra Congregazione, ed a me non era noto il numero de' cattolici esistenti negli Stati Uniti della repubblica americana, e perciò che non potevasi fissar quello de' missionarj, e degli alunni; ma che si credeva, che otto missionarj potranno per ora essere sufficienti, e che otto, o dieci alunni si potranno far studiare in Francia, e due o tre nel collegio di cotesta Sagra Congregazione, la quale penserà al mantenimento non solo di detti due o tre alunni, ma anche al vescovo *in partibus* vicario apostolico da inviarsi nel Maryland, si convenne unanimemente, che in sequela dell' esposto dal signor cavalier de la Luzerne, io senza perdimento di tempo gli trasmettessi una nota accompagnata da una mia lettera, e di altra mia lettera per uno de' missionarj, dimoranti in America, del tenore delle quì accluse copie, le quali lettere e nota, dopo averne fatta la comunicazione martedì della scorsa settimana, per andar d'accordo, al signor conte di Vergennes, questo regio ministro s'incaricò volentieri di raccomandare, ed inviare nel suo dispaccio al ripetuto signor cavaliere, ed in assenza di lui, che è per rivivere in Europa, a quell' incaricato degli affari di Sua Maestà Cristianissima, col *paquebot*, che dall' Oriente parte il martedì della terza settimana di ogni mese per l'America settentrionale, e che va, e ritorna nello spazio di soli tre mesi: il che potrà servire di regola, e lume a cotesta Sagra Congregazione, quando si risolve di scrivere, e mandare qualche lettera in quelle parti. Si parlò del luogo più proprio e conveniente per gli studj degli alunni, che, allorquando si saranno renduti

²⁸ Scritture Riferite, America Centrale, vol. II., ff. 258-260.

idonei, dovranno passare in quella missione. Si rilevò, che ne' seminarj di Parigi altro non si studia, che la filosofia, l'una e l'altra legge, e la teologia, ma non la grammatica, l'umanità, le matematiche, e la rettorica, che per queste vi sono de' collegi, ne' quali si paga certamente più, che in quelli di provincia, e che i seminarj delle missioni straniere, e du Saint Esprit di questa capitale per lo stesso motivo non potrebbero essere a proposito, qualora gli alunni non fossero già pratici della lingua latina in maniera di potersi subito occupare negli studj della filosofia, legge e teologia. E Monsignor vescovo d'Autun propose che gli alunni, che si stimeranno necessarij, dopo aver ricevute le risposte d'America, si potrebbero inviare a Bordeaux, che, come l'Eminenza Vostra non ignora, è una grande, ricca, e popolata città vicina all' oceano, ove tra gli altri mercanti concorrono quelli dell' America settentrionale colle loro navi cariche di mercanzie, e quel monsignor arcivescovo di lui intimo amico potrebbe far collocare detti alunni in uno de' seminarj o collegi della medesima città, stimando, che la spesa annua ascenderà a circa mille lire per ogni alunno. Spero che dalla Santità di Nostro Signore, non meno che da cotesta Sacra Congregazione si gradirà non solamente quanto fu trattato nell' accennata sessione, e si è scritto dal Signor Cavalier de la Luzerne, ma altresì quanto io ho esposto nelle ripetute lettere e nota, giacchè queste son relative alle facoltà comunicatemi colla sopradette lettera, di Vostra Eminenza de' 27 Settembre 1783, ed alla favorevole informazione datami dal Signor Franklin, del merito, e credito del signor Carrol, Ex-Gesuita dello stato del Maryland inviato nel 1776 dal congresso nel Canadà unitamente col signor Franklin e gli altri commissarij, qual soggetto, se a merito uguale venisse prescelto per vicario apostolico da destinarsi nel Maryland sarebbe assai gradito da molti membri del congresso, e particolarmente dal Signor Franklin che con premura me lo ha raccomandato. Quando l'Eminenza Vostra avrà osservato l'esposto, che in nome della Sagra Congregazione senza prendere verun impegno, e senza renderne avanti consapevole la medesima per guadagnare due mesi di tempo ho fatto, attenderò gli ulteriori ordini, che si dovranno da me eseguire, per ridurre al desiderato fine il presente affare, pel quale il signor conte di Vergennes, secondando le pie, e religiose intenzioni del re cristianissimo, prende il più grande interesse. Non tralascio di partecipare a Vostra Eminenza, che, trovandosi il signor Franklin incomodato dal male di pietra, ora per lui si rende il suo nipote in Versailles, ove perciò non avendo l'opportunità di vederlo, martedì passato fui a trovarlo nella sua casa di Passy, e lo resi inteso di quanto si era trattato nella enunciata sessione, e da me scritto al signor cavalier de la Luzerne, non senza ringraziarlo per l'attenzione obbligate che aveva avuta di prevenire il congresso, e pregarlo a voler i suoi buoni uffizj. Egli si mostrò di esserne infinitamente penetrato di riconoscenza, e contento, e mi assicurò che la sua repubblica gradirà al sammo, che due o tre sudditi suoi passino per alunni nel collegio di cotesta Sagra Congregazione in Roma, avendo un' alta idea, che le scienze vi s'insegnino all' ultima perfezione, e che in tal maniera si avranno soggetti abili pel bene della religione, e dello stato. E per fine, augurandomi la continuazione de' veneratissimi comandi dell' Eminenza Vostra passo a rassegnarmi col più rispettoso ossequio

Di Vostra Eminenza umilissimo, divotissimo,
obligatissimo servitore

G. Arcivescovo di SELEUCIA.

PARIGI 17 Maggio 1784.

XIV. THE NUNCIO TO A MISSIONARY IN AMERICA.²⁹

Copie d'une lettre de Mgr le Nonce à l'un des missionnaires demeurantes en Amérique du 12 May 1784.

L'interêt de la religion exigeant de nouveaux éclaircissement aux missions établies dans les Etats Unis de l'Amérique septentrionale, la Congrégation de la Propagande me charge de vous demander des renseignements détaillés sur l'état actuel de ces missions. Je vous prie de me marquer en même tems quel seroit le nombre nécessaire de missionnaires, pour les desservir, et pour procurer aux catholiques sujets des Etats Unis les secours spirituels, quelles sont les provinces ou il y a des catholiques, et ou il y en a le plus grand nombre, enfin si parmi les naturels du pays il y auroit des sujets capables de recevoir les ordres sacrés, et d'exercer les fonctions de missionnaire. Je vous serai très obligé dans mon particulier de l'exactitude et de la célérité, que vous voudrez bien mettre pour me procurer ces renseignements, et me les faire parvenir.

J'ai l'honneur, etc., etc.

XV. THE CARDINAL PREFECT TO THE NUNCIO.³⁰

A Monsignor Arcivescovo di Seleucia Nunzio Apostolico in Parigi.

29 Maggio 1784.

Secondo ciò, che Vostra Signoria si compiacque motivarmi nella sua de' 26 Aprile, dovrebbe già da più giorni esser tenuta la sessione riguardante l'affare degli Stati Uniti della nuova repubblica Americana, onde ne sto attendendo il risultato con quel desiderio, che Ella può immaginarsi.

XVI. THE NUNCIO TO THE CARDINAL PREFECT.³¹

Emin. e Revmo Sig. Sig. Padrone Colendissimo.

Avend' io accompagnate con una mia lettera sotto il dì 12 Maggio diretta a signor conte di Vergennes quelle, che scrissi al signor cavalier de la Luzerne ministro plenipotenziario del re Cristianissimo presso gli stati della nuova repubblica americana, e ad uno di quei missionarj, e la nota, delle quali trasmisi copia a Vostra Eminenza sotto il dì 18 dello spirante, il nominato regio ministro si è compiaciuto di accusarmene la ricevuta, e la premura colla quale si è prestato a secondare la mia istanza, per mezzo di una sua lettera in data de' 25 Maggio, del tenore della qui acchiusa copia. La trasmetto all' Eminenza Vostra persuaso, che gradirà di leggerla, ed unirla agli altri fogli, che riguardano lo stabilimento delle missioni nelle provincie della suddetta repubblica. E pieno del più rispettoso ossequio, mentre mi auguro l'onore de' suoi comanti pregiati, costantemente mi rassegno

Di Vostro Eminenza umilissimo, divotissimo, obblighatissimo servitore

G. Arcivescovo di SELEUCIA.

PARIGI 31 Maggio 1784.

[Endorsed]: Risposta 30 Giugno 1784.

²⁹ Scritture Riferite, America Centrale, vol. II., f. 261. In a letter to Rayneval, August 15, 1784, of which a translation appears in Bancroft's *Formation of the Constitution*, I. 378, Marbois writes, "I sent to Mr. [Charles] Carroll the letter of the nuncio for the oldest missionary."

³⁰ Lettere, vol. 244, f. 444.

³¹ Scritture Riferite, America Centrale, vol. II., f. 266.

XVII. THE CARDINAL PREFECT TO THE NUNCIO.³²

A Monsignor Arcivescovo di Seleucia nunzio apostolico in Parigi.

9 Giugno 1784.

Dall' annessa lettera che Vostra Signoria favorirà di inviare al Signor Carroll,³³ Ella intenderà con quanta prontezza siasi secondato da Sua Santità non meno che da questa Sacra Congregazione il desiderio mostrato dal signor Franklin, anche per parte di molti membri del congresso d'incaricare detto Carrol della superiorità delle missioni nelle provincie della nuova repubblica degli Stati Uniti dell' America settentrionale, togliendole così dalla dipendenza del Vicario Apostolico di Londra, al quale da prima erano state delegate.

Precedentemente all' ultimo dispaccio di Vostra Signoria de' 17 del passato Maggio, erano giunte a questa Sacra Congregazione a nome dei missionari della Marylandia e Pensylvania alcune carte, le quali ne informavano del presente stato di quelle cristianità, e richiedevano, che se ne desse la cura al signor Lowis,³⁴ cioè a quel medesimo soggetto, al quale dal suddetto Vicario Apostolico di Londra era stata affidata. Dalle copie di dette carte, che rimetto a Vostra Signoria, ella vedrà che tra i soggetti postulanti il Lowis per superiore è notato in ultimo luogo anche il Carrol. Quest' atto ne fa vedere, che il Carrol non ha cooperato all' impegno, che si è per lui affacciato dal signor Franklin, e per conseguenza ha pur giovato a dargli la prelazione sopra il Lowis, il quale contando ormai anni 64, come si nota nelle medesime carte, par che si meriti riposo. Per l'impianto di un nuovo sistema di missioni, richiedesi non solo l'esperienza, ma anche età robusta per operare ed agire. Non ci è nota l'età del Carrol, ma può ben credersi molto più vegeta di quella del Lowis, da che nella supplica è notato per ultimo. Tre poi furono i punti affacciati nel progetto, che con nostro dispaccio de' 27 Settembre 1783 le fu comunicato. Il primo era quello di stabilire negli stati della nuova repubblica Americana un vescovo o Vicario Apostolico insignito di carattere vescovile. Questo punto sta assai a cuore di Sua Santità, e vuole che si maturi al più presto. Si disse, che la Sacra Congregazione avrebbe anche supplito con assegnamento del suo erario per questo vescovo o vicario apostolico. Dalla lettera, che si scrive al Signor Carrol Ella vedrà, che con qualche delicatezza gli si domanda notizia dei fondi, che vi possono essere in America addetti a quelle missioni, non già che si ricusi di supplire, ma per scandagliare su di quanto dovrà cadere questo supplemento, tanto più che si rimane ancora al bujo del quanto possa importare la sussistenza di un vescovo o Vicario Apostolico in America. Per quella parte di mondo la Sacra Congregazione non ha finora avuto carico di spesa sopra il suo erario, e per conseguenza è d'uopo di aver delle notizie peculiari per regolarsi, le quali niuno meglio di Vostra Signoria, che con tanto zelo e destrezza ha maneggiato tutto l'affare, saprà fornircele. Gli stipendj consueti dei vescovi, e vicarj apostolici, che si mantengono dalla Sacra

³² Lettere, vol. 244, f. 487.

³³ This letter, given in Lettere, vol. 244, f. 492, is not printed here, as it is published, in translation, in Shea, *Carroll*, pp. 243-245. The original is in Latin. The decree and the audience giving authority to the decision are printed, in translation, in *id.*, p. 224.

³⁴ Father John Lewis, *olim* S. J.

Congregazione nell' altre tre parti di mondo, sono di scudi 200 o 300 annui al più, oltre quegli incerti che anche nelle terre più barbare sogliono ritrarre da chi in qualità di pastore ne sostiene tutto il peso. Fissato il piano del supplemento per il mantenimento del Vescovo o Vicario Apostolico, rimarrà l'altro di maturarne la scelta. Questa potrebbe cadere nel signor Carrol, quante volte sia fornito dei necessarj requisiti, e per questi pure è d'uopo che Ella prenda lume per nostra regola. Intanto la superiorità appoggiatagli ne farà vedere la condotta dell' uomo, ed il gradimento di questa presso dei cattolici non solo, ma anche presso il congresso, il quale sebbene saviamente pensi a non mischiarsi negli affari della nostra santa religione, pure merita, ed esige tutte le possibili considerazioni, per la protezione che dal congresso medesimo deve attendersi nei casi contingibili. Dilucidati pertanto questi due punti, si verrà alla destinazione del vescovo, o vicario apostolico, come si crederà meglio per il bene di quelle cristianità.

Il secondo punto fu l'esibizione degli alunnati nel nostro collegio Urbano; e non abbisognando questo punto di altre indagini, si scrive al signor Carrol, che mandi per ora due giovani per educarvi. Con questa missione il nostro collegio si gloriava in Domino di prestarsi all'educazione della gioventù di tutte e quattro le parti del mondo. Si motiva soltanto a detto Carrol di fare un piano delle spese, che occorreranno per i viaggi, e questo piano servirà di norma per il tratto avvenire.

Finalmente il terzo punto era di provvedere all' educazione anche più estesa di operaj evangelici, con procurare dalla generosa pietà di Sua Maestà Cristianissima ricovero in qualche seminario di Francia ad un maggior numero di giovani Americani. Il progetto, che sopra di questo le ha fatto Monsignor Vescovo di Autun, cioè di prevalersi di alcuno dei seminarj, che sono in Bordeaux, città vicina all' Oceano, e commerciante coll' America Settentrionale, è bellissimo, ed è assai piaciuto a Sua Santità. Una sola cosa non si è ben capita dal dispaccio di Vostra Signoria, ed è se Mgr d'Autun abbia inteso nel fattolo progetto di assegnare un qualche fondo per la sussistenza di questo alunnato, che si richiedeva per otto o dieci giovani Americani. Quando la cosa sia così, i voti del Santo Padre sono compiti; in caso differente, non potendo la Sacra Congregazione gravarsi anche di questa spesa, converrà che Vostra Signoria faccia nuovo tentativo per riuscire nell' affare, agevolando sul numero dei giovani a misura delle offerte, cosicchè se non si volessero otto, o dieci, almeno se ne ricevessero per ora quattro o sei da sostentarsi con qualche pensione, o fondo ecclesiastico da assegnarsi dalla liberalità di codesto Cristianissimo Monarca. È troppo necessario di aver su di ciò qualche ulterior schiarimento per nostra quiete e governo.

Nel resto Sua Santità e la Sacra Congregazione hanno assai commendata la diligenza e zelo di Vostra Signoria in tutto il maneggio di questo importante affare; e siccome il congresso ben vede non essere della sua ispezione le cose di chiesa, così; salvo il punto dei giovani, che si vuol sperare saranno ricevuti dei seminarj di Bordeaux, e per il quale Vostra Signoria potrà continuare il negoziato con Monsignor d'Autun, o chiunque altro ne potrà agevolare l'ultimazione, si è risoluto di trattare degli affari per lettere in dirittura con i medesimi missionarj Americani, ed ora col signor Carrol, che se n'è costituito capo. Non

lascierà poi Vostra Signoria di contestare al signor conte di Vergennes, come anche al signor Franklin la compiacenza del Santo Padre, e di questa Sacra Congregazione in tutto l'affare, e lo stesso praticherà anche con monsignor d'Autun, quante volte si venga a conclusione dell' alunnato in Bordeaux, mentre raffermandole le grandi nostre obbligazioni, di vero cuore me le offro, e resto.

XVIII. MEMORANDUM RESPECTING CATHOLIC MISSIONS IN THE UNITED STATES.³⁵

Missio catholica in regionibus Americae Septentrionalis tunc subiectis dominio Magnae Britanniae ante annum 1640 regnante Carolo I. incepta et fundata fuit a presbyteris Societatis Jesu provinciae Anglicanae, qui hanc propriis expensis, multis magnisque laboribus excoluerunt primo in ora maritima Marilandiae, mox dilatarunt in partes interiores et remotissimas eiusdem provinciae, et etiam hinc inde in Pensylvaniam et Virginiam, magno ubique fidei et religionis incremento. Iidem, successoresque illorum ex eadem Societate et provincia inter varias frequentesque vexationes constanter perseverarunt in dilatanda catholica fide per praedictas regiones, et in procuranda ubique incolarum salute donec sub finem anni 1773 autoritate Congregationis de Propaganda fide indicatum illis est Breve suppressionis Societatis Jesu, cuius omnes missionarii erant socii. Verum cum nec alii sacerdotes cujuscumque Instituti praesto essent, nec aliunde adscribi poterant, qui huic missioni tunc in extremis periclitanti subvenirent, iidem missionarii licet jam a fratrum suorum auxilio, et religiosis legibus dejecti, ne fideles in longe dissitis regionibus sparsos, et inter molestias belli quotidie ubique recrudescentis, omni ope spirituali destitutos desererent, approbati denuo, et laudati a Vicario Apostolico Londinensi singuli stationes tenuerunt, eodemque zelo et industria vineam Domini excolere perseverarunt inter varia discrimina, et etiamnum perseverant. Coeterum ad paucos redacti, eosque partim laboribus fractos, partim annis proVectos, invitarunt in messem illos praecipue sacerdotes, qui nati in America septentrionali, modo in Anglia aut alibi degebant. Numerus eorum, qui nunc laborant in hac missione, vix supra viginti ascendit, sed stabilita[ta] propria jurisdictione ecclesiastica plures idonei sacerdotes facilius aggregabuntur. Concessa enim et per reipublicae leges confirmata libertate conscientiae, catholica fides tandem hic respirare videtur, numerusque fidelium ubique in dies accrescit: quinimmo plures familiae catholicae modo se accingunt ad demigrandum ex locis, in quibus frequentiores sunt incolae, et ad colonias deducendas in apertos fertilissimosque terrarum tractus, qui flumini Mississippi adjacent et reipublicae Americanae dominium agnoscunt: hae enim omnes familiae sacerdotes catholicos enixe efflagitant, qui se comitentur ad novas sedes, ibique secum commorentur.

[Endorsed]: America settentrionale.

9 Giugno 1784.

Origine delle missioni cattoliche nei paesi soggetti al re d'Inghilterra.

Mandatane copia a Mgr Nunzio di Parigi con lettera de' 9 Giugno 1784.

³⁵ Scritture Riferite, America Centrale, vol. II., f. 268.

XIX. THE CARDINAL PREFECT TO DR. JOHN CARROLL.³⁶

Domino Joanni Caroll Superiori missionum in tredecim confederatae Americae septentrionalis provinciis.

16 Junii 1784.

Ut fidelibus istis bellorum calamitatibus diu vexatis divinae misericordiae jam pateant uberrimi fontes, et coelestibus iidem thesauris participes fiant, Sanctissimus Dominus Noster Pius Papa VI votis indulgens missionariorum, benigne extendit, ac dimanavit in omnes et singulos utriusque sexus catholicos in tredecim confederatae Americae septentrionalis provinciis commorantes, qui injuncta opera juxta insertum documentum impleverint, jubilaum magnum anni salutis 1775 unius anni spatio duraturum, et computandum a die, quo praesentes litterae ad Dominationem Tuam pervenerint. Tuum itaque erit Apostolicam hanc concessionem in praefatis provinciis per alios operarios indicare, ac promulgare, ut catholici omnes de tanto Ecclesiae thesauro proficiant, et refervescente charitate ad magnam divini auxilii spem erigantur. Interim Dominationi Tuae longaevam a Deo cum omni bonorum copia apprecor incolumitatem.

XX. THE CARDINAL PREFECT TO BISHOP JAMES TALBOT.³⁷

Domino Jacobo Talbot Episcopo BIRTHANO, Vicario Apostolico in regno Angliae. Londinum.

19 Junii 1784.

Cum catholici in tredecim confederatae Americae septentrionalis provinciis commorantes ab illius reipublicae magistratibus vetiti fuerint, ne vicarios apostolicos in alieno dominio existentes habeant amplius superiores; cumque ad conservandam ibidem religionem missionarii petierint, ut spiritualibus eorundem necessitatibus Sancta Sedes consuleret, Sacra haec Congregatio de Propaganda Fide, approbante Sanctissimo Domino Nostro Pio Papa VI, superiorem illius missionis constituit Dominum Joannem Caroll virum probatae pietatis, ac studii, cumque facultatibus necessariis, et opportunis independenter a qualibet alia ecclesiastica potestate, praeterquam a Sacra Congregatione, communivit. Quin imo ea Sanctitatis Suae mens est, atque consilium, ut in iis provinciis episcopum, seu vicarium apostolicum episcopali titulo et caractere decoratum mox decernat, qui ea omnia, quae postulant episcopale munus, fidelibus illis valeat administrare. De his igitur Amplitudinem Vestram, cui antea commissa fuerat spiritualis eorundem catholicorum cura, certiore facere non praetermitto; nec dubitans, quin hujusmodi Sacrae Congregationis providentia, utpote ad bonum religionis valde conducens, pergrata quoque Amplitudini Vestrae sit futura, Deum precor, ut eam diutissime servet, ac sospitet.

XXI. THE CARDINAL PREFECT TO THE NUNCIO.³⁸

A Monsignor Arcivescovo di Seleucia Nunzio Apostolico in Parigi.

30 Giugno 1784.

Debbo alla conosciuta diligenza di Vostra Signoria la pronta partecipazione del felice risultato degli uffizi fatti agli Stati Uniti di America dal signor cavalier de la Luzerne ministro di codesta corte presso

³⁶ Lettere, vol. 244, f. 508.

³⁷ *Id.*, f. 524.

³⁸ *Id.*, f. 541.

dei medesimi stati. Io già pregai Vostra Signoria di ringraziare, anche in nome di Sua Santità, codesto benemerito Signor Conte di Vergennes per l'efficacia, colla quale si è prestato a dar mano al ristabilimento di quelle missioni. In vista della favorevole risposta del cavaliere suddetto potrà Ella replicare anche questi uffizi. Intanto essendosi intrapreso carteggio in dirittura col signor Carroll, costituito superiore di quelle missioni, si anderanno spianando le altre cose senza recare per questo conto ulterior fastidio ed incomodo a codesto ministro. Solo, come se le scrisse, si attendeva schiarimento da Monsignor di Autun sul punto dell' alunnato in uno dei seminarj di Bordeaux, cioè se il Prelato consentiva di applicare a questo alunnato qualche rendita fissa, senza della quale la Sacra Congregazione non è al caso di subirne il peso, e non sarà poco quello degli alunnati offerti in questo collegio, e del supplemento per il mantenimento del vescovo, o vicario apostolico in America.

XXII. THE NUNCIO TO THE CARDINAL PREFECT.³⁹

Emin. e Revmo Sig. Sig. Padrone colendissimo.

(Sig. Cardinale Antonelli, Prefetto della

S. C. di Propaganda fide—Roma.)

Senza comunicare la veneratissima lettera, che Vostra Eminenza si compiacque scrivermi sotto il dì 9 dello scorso mese, relativamente all' affare delle missioni nelle provincie della nuova repubblica degli Stati Uniti dell' America settentrionale, al signor conte di Vergennes martedì io stesso dissi, che cotesta Sacra Congregazione di Propaganda fide coll' oracolo del Santo Padre veniva di prescegliere per superiore di quelle missioni il Signor Carroll e che a quest' effetto gl' inviava con una lettera di officio tutte le facoltà, ed istruzioni necessarie, riservandosi di eleggerlo vicario apostolico col carattere vescovile, quando si saranno avute le prove della di lui abilità, e capacità, e le notizie dimandate al signor cavalier de la Luzerne ministro plenipotenziario del re cristianissimo presso gli stati della suddetta repubblica, il quale tra pochi giorni sarà di ritorno in Francia. Tanto il signor conte di Vergennes, che si incaricò di far pervenire nel suo piego quello dell' Eminenza Vostra con una mia lettera al signor Carroll, quanto il signor Franklin si mostrarono di tutto ciò infinitamente contenti, e m'imposero di renderlene distinte grazie. Il signor Franklin per altro avrebbe di più desiderato che già il signor Carroll fosse eletto vescovo, assicurandomi, che il congresso americano ne avrà sommo piacere, e che non si opposerà, che il signor Carroll si renda nel Canada per farsi consagrar vescovo da monsignor vescovo di Quebec, come un luogo il più vicino, e non di tanto incomodo, e dispendioso, come sarebbe, se dovesse per la sua consacrazione venire in Francia o trasferirsi nell' isola di S. Domingue. Per non far credere al signor Franklin, che per motivo d'interesse, cioè per non saper quanto possa importare la sussistenza di un vescovo, o Vicario Apostolico col carattere vescovile il signor Carroll, mi astenni di fare su di ciò alcun discorso. Domandai bensì al signor Franklin quanto all' incirca sarebbe stata la spesa per far venire due giovani dall' America in Francia; ed egli mi rispose che, non essendone ancor regolato il passaggio, non poteva darmene una positiva notizia, ma che tale spesa non dovrebbe esser' maggiore di 70 o 80 luigi d'oro,

³⁹ Scritture Riferite, America Centrale, vol. II., f. 272.

AM. HIST. REV., VOL. XV.—55.

che vale a dire di 1680 o 1920 lire tornesi. Rispetto poi agli otto o dieci giovani americani, che, come mi diedi l'onore di avvisare a Vostra Eminenza colla mia lettera de' 17 Maggio Monsignor vescovo d'Autun propose di collocare in uno de' seminarii di Bordeaux per farvi gli studi necessarii e divenire abili missionarij, la spesa occorrente si assegnerà, e fornirà dal re cristianissimo, che ha sommamente a cuore di ben provvedere quelle missioni di soggetti capaci; ma monsignor vescovo d'Autun non è ancor determinato, se per tale spesa si destinerà un fondo o si darà ogni anno una somma di denaro occorrente per otto, dieci o più alunni secondo il bisogno; e perciò mi restrinsi a dire che: "due o tre alunni si potranno far studiare nel collegio di cotesta Sacra Congregazione, la quale penserà al mantenimento non solo di detti due o tre alunni, ma anche del vescovo *in partibus* vicario apostolico da inviarsi nel Maryland". L'Eminenza Vostra riconoscerà pertanto, che l'affare è incamminato a maraviglia bene, e che, per ultimarlo, altro non resta, che ricevere le notizie dimandate in America, e che probabilmente verranno fornite dal signor cavalier de la Luzerne. Che è quanto mi occorre di parteciparle, mentre con tutto l'ossequio, mi pregio di essere.

Di Vostra Eminenza umilissimo, divotissimo,
obbligatissimo servitore

G. Arcivescovo di SELEUCIA.

PARIGI 5 Luglio 1784.

[Endorsed]: Risposto 31 Luglio 1784.

XXIII. THE CARDINAL PREFECT TO THE NUNCIO.⁴⁰

A Monsignor Arcivescovo di Seleucia Nunzio Apostolico. Parigi.

31 Luglio 1784.

La nota saviezza di Vostra Signoria ha così bene portato l'affare del felicemente incominciato ristabilimento delle missioni nelle provincie della nuova repubblica degli Stati Uniti dell' America settentrionale, che la Santità di Nostro Signore, alla quale se ne è fatta piena relazione, non solo ne è rimasta assai contenta, ma le ne ha data ancora molta lode, e specialmente per la fissata educazione in uno dei seminarii di Bordeaux di otto o dieci giovani Americani da mantenersi dalla liberalità di Sua Maesta Cristianissima. Brama pertanto Sua Santità, che Vostra Signoria si compiaccia di passarne al più presto ufizio speciale di ringraziamento a Monsignor Vescovo d'Autun, al dipartimento del quale si appartiene la Materia. Con questa occasione vegga, se lo crede espediente, di far gustare a detto Prelato che lo stabilimento di un fondo fisso sarà sempre più spedita e meno soggetta a variazioni. Si è poi Vostra Signoria egregiamente diportata nella partecipazione fatta al signor conte di Vergennes, ed al Signor Franklin della scelta del nuovo superiore delle suddette missioni in persona del Signor Carroll. Non dubiti il signor Franklin che dal canto nostro si solleciterà d'insignirlo del carattere vescovile subito, che il detto Signor Carroll ci averà ragguagliato dello stato della cattolica religione in quelle provincie, e del sistema da darsi alle cose. Intanto si attenderanno i due giovani Americani richiesti per questo nostro collegio, e Vostra Signoria che è in carteggio col signor Carroll, potrà sollecitare la trasmissione, e farsi a nome nostro carico del rimborso della spesa per il loro viaggio. Che è

⁴⁰ Lettere, vol. 244, f. 624.

quante mi occorre di doverle significare e raffermandole le grandi nostre obbligazioni, di vero cuore me le offro, e resto.

XXIV. FRANKLIN TO THE NUNCIO.⁴¹

Monsieur Franklin assure de son respect son Excellence le Nonce, et lui envoie copie de l'instruction du congrès qu' il a eu l'honneur de lui communiquer hier avec une traduction qu' il a paru désirer.

PASSY ce 18 Août 1784.

XXV. THE NUNCIO TO THE CARDINAL PREFECT.⁴²

Emin. e Revmo Signore, Signore, Padrone Colendissimo.

(Sig. Card. Antonelli, prefetto della

S. Cong. de propaganda fide, Roma.)

Puo essere Vostra Eminenza ben persuasa della consolazione, che mi deriva dal rilevare dalla veneratissima sua lettera de' 31 Luglio che il Santo Padre siasi degnato di restare assai contento della maniera da me tenuta per ridurre al bramato termine l'affare dello stabilimento delle missioni nelle provincie della nuova repubblica degli Stati Uniti dell' America settentrionale, e specialmente per la fissata educazione in uno de' seminarj di Bordeaux di otto o dieci giovani Americani da mantenersi dalla liberalità del re cristianissimo. Quanto prima eseguirò l'ordine, che in nome di Sua Santità l'Eminenza Vostra si è compiaciuta darmi, di passare uffizio di speciale ringraziamento a Monsignor Vescovo d'Autun per la parte, che prende pel collocamento degli accennati giovani Americani; ma non mi lusingo, che si presti a stabilire un fondo fisso, perchè è incerto, che la Repubblica Americana col tempo continui ad esser grata per i segnalati servigi, e favori, che le ha renduti la Francia, e che non accadono delle rivoluzioni simili a quella del Canadà. Convien gradire e contentarsi di quel, che si può ottenere, e per l'avvenire rimettersi a quel, che piacerà a Dio di disporre.

Al signor Franklin parteciperò che la Sagra Congregazione de Propaganda Fide è infinitamente propensa di sollecitare dal canto suo, perchè il signor Carroll sia insignito del carattere vescovile, subito che lo stesso signor Carroll avrà dato ragguaglio dello stato della cattolica religione nelle provincie della sua repubblica Americana e del sistema da darsi alle cose; come ancora che la medesima Sagra Congregazione attende con piacere che si solleciti la trasmissione de' due giovani Americani richiesti per cotesto suo collegio, e che di già mi ha incaricato di fare la spesa occorrente pel di loro viaggio.

Il Signor Franklin avendomi comunicato un estratto delle istruzioni avute dal congresso sotto il dì 11 Maggio 1784, relativamente alla dimanda che gli feci, lo pregai di fornirmene una copia, ed una traduzione. Egli mi trasmise l'una e l'altra accompagnate da un suo biglietto in data de' 18 del corrente mese, che originalmente invio a Vostra Eminenza unite a questa mia rispettosa lettera. Non dubito, che alla Santità di Nostro Signore ed a cotesta Sagra Congregazione piacerà di rilevare dal medesimo estratto i sentimenti rispettosi del congresso verso Sua Santità, e lo stato pontificio; e che il congresso dichiara, che la

⁴¹ Scritture Riferite, America Centrale, vol. II., f. 275. The instructions enclosed are printed in the *Secret Journals of Congress*, IV. 493.

⁴² Scritture Riferite, America Centrale, vol. II., ff. 279-280.

dimanda, essendo puramente spirituale, è estranea ai di lui poteri, e giurisdizione, e che non ha autorità per permetterlo, o ricusarlo, essendo questo potere riservato individualmente a ciascuno stato. E sempre più ansioso di eseguire i pregiatissimi comandi dell' Eminenza Vostra, con tutto l'ossequio mi rassegno,

Di Vostra Eminenza,

Umilissimo, devotissimo, obbligatissimo servitore

G. Arcivescovo di SELEUCIA.

PARIGI 23 Agosto 1784.

[Endorsed]: Risposto 18 Settembre 1789.

XXVI. THE CARDINAL PREFECT TO THE NUNCIO.⁴³

A Monsignor Arcivescovo di Seleucia Nunzio Apostolico in Parigi.

25 Settembre 1784.

Con particolare soddisfazione ho veduta la risposta data dal congresso degli Stati Uniti d'America al signor Franklin sul proposito della dimanda, che Vostra Signoria gli fece, e non si è mancato di rappresentare a Nostro Signore i sentimenti rispettosi del medesimo congresso verso la Santità Sua, e per lo stato pontificio. Io le rendo distinte grazie di tanta, e così gentile sua attenzione, ringraziandola altresì degli ulteriori uffici, ch' elle pensava di fare al detto ministro Americano relativamente all' assicurarlo della disposizione, che si ha dal nostro canto, perchè il signor Carrol venga insignito del carattere vescovile.

In questo incontro debbo significarle il contento provato da questa Sacra Congregazione per l'arrivo di due giovanetti dell' isola di Madagascar da allevarsi in questo collegio Urbano, sperandosi che a suo tempo possano riuscire di gran giovamento a quella nuova missione, per la quale si sono già prese varie opportune misure. Non lascio pertanto di raccomandare nuovamente allo sperimentato zelo ed efficacia di Vostra Signoria, affinchè voglia rinnovare al signor maresciallo di Castries quegli uffici in questo proposito, de' quali già la pregai con lettera de' 7 Luglio prossimo passato; e promettendomi dagli autorevoli suoi maneggi ogni più prospero effetto, di vero cuore me le offero, e resto.

XXVII. THE NUNCIO TO THE CARDINAL PREFECT.⁴⁴

Emin. e Revmo Signore, Signor Padrone Colendissimo.

(*Sig. Cardinal Antonelli, Prefetto della
S. C. de Propaganda fide, Roma.*)

Dopo aver provata e fatta provare la stabilità della vocazione del signor Giovanni Thayer nativo di Boston nella nuova repubblica Americana per lo stato ecclesiastico, in vista di quanto Vostra Eminenza si compiacque parteciparmi colla veneratissima sua lettera de' 27 Settembre 1783, ed attese le facoltà accordatemi dalla Santità di Nostro Signore nel foglio di udienza de' 21 dello stesso mese, jeri in questa mia cappella domestica diedi la tonsura clericale al suddetto Signor Giovanni Thayer. Questo nuovo chierico da me raccomandato a diverse persone, e particolarmente a monsignor arcivescovo di Parigi, che lo ha collocato in questo seminario di S. Sulpizio, vi continuerà a fare gli

⁴³ Lettere, vol. 244, f. 781.

⁴⁴ Scritture Riferite, America Centrale, vol. II., f. 284.

studi necessarii, per avanzarsi nello stato, che viene d'intraprendere. Di tanto mi occorre rendere informata l'Eminenza Vostra, affinché ne faccia tener registro in cotesta segreteria della Sacra Congregazione di Propaganda Fide, mentre con tutto l'ossequio mi rassegnò

Di Vostra Eminenza,

Umilissimo, divotissimo, obbligatissimo servo

G. Arcivescovo di SELEUCIA.

PARIGI 15 Novembre 1784.

[Endorsed]: Risposto 11 Dicembre 1784.

XXVIII. THE CARDINAL PREFECT TO THE NUNCIO. (DORIA).⁴⁵

A Monsignor Arcivescovo di Seleucia Nunzio Apostolico in Parigi.

11 Dicembre 1784.

Di particolar contentezza mi è stata la notizia, che Vostra Signoria si è compiaciuta darmi intorno al signor Giovanni Thayer nativo di Boston, cioè che dopo d'aver provare e fatta provare la stabilità della di lui vocazione alla vita ecclesiastica, Ella in vigore della facoltà accordatele da Sua Beatitudine sotto il dì 21 Settembre 1783, gli abbia nella sua cappella domestica conferita la tonsura clericale, e di più le sia anche riuscito di farlo collocare da Monsignor Arcivescovo di Parigi in cotesto seminario di S. Sulpizio, ove potrà proseguire gli studi necessari per lo stato che he intrapreso. Io non saprei esprimere a Vostra Signoria quanto obbligo le tenga questa Sacra Congregazione per la prontezza, e felicità con cui Ella suol condurre a fine ogni sua premura, effetto non solo del molto di lei zelo, ma anche della prudente desterità ed autorevole sua efficacia. Non lascio pertanto di renderlene le più distinte ed affettuose grazie, assicurandola del più perfetto gradimento e della più viva riconoscenza di questi Eminentissimi miei Signori, e mia. Di che mentre attenderò dalla solita sua accuratezza qualche consolante riscontro, di vero cuore me le offero, e resto.

XXIX. INSTRUCTIONS FOR THE NUNCIO (DUGNANI).⁴⁶

Istruzione per Monsignor Dugnani nuovo nunzio di Francia 24 Maggio 1785.

Perchè Monsignor Illmo Dugnani nuovo nunzio di Parigi abbia fin d'ora una qualche idea delle cose, che per l'organo di quella nunziatura si trattano dalla Sacra Congregazione di Propaganda è d'uopo che resti informato che in Parigi vi sono due cospicui seminari, che hanno carteggio colla Propaganda, cioè il seminario delle missioni straniere, ed il seminario di S. Spirito. . . .

Finalmente deve monsignor nunzio sapere lo stabilimento che si è pensato di dare al cattolicesimo della nuova repubblica delle provincie unite in America. Questo affare ha coronato la nunziatura dell' Emin. Doria, al cui zelo ed attività si deve il merito di tutta l'opera.

Si è pertanto fissato il piano di un vicario apostolico da erigersi in quella parte della nuova repubblica che si crederà più opportuna. La Sacra Congregazione ha esibito di contribuire al mantenimento del vicario, che sarà anche insignito del carattere vescovile. Per questa dignità è stato pur scelto il soggetto, che è un certo signor Caroll, che

⁴⁵ Lettere, vol. 244, f. 942.

⁴⁶ Istruzioni, vol. I., f. 385.

si trova in quelle terre in qualità di missionario, e del quale la Sacra Congregazione tiene ottime informazioni. Questo soggetto fu anche bramato dal ministro signor Franklin residente a Parigi.

Ma per avere un impianto di nuovi operai per quella cristianità si pensò dall' Emin. Doria di riportare dalla munificenza di Sua Maestà Cristianissima un assegnamento per otto o dieci giovani da chiamarsi da America e da educarsi in uno dei seminari di Bordeaux, e ne ebbe da Monsignor di Autun che tiene il foglio dei benefici piena sicurezza.

In vista di ciò anche la Sacra Congregazione ha esibito nel suo collegio Urbano due luoghi per due giovani Americani da educarvi a sue spese.

Tutto questo piano fu interamente gradito al signor Franklin, ed anche al congresso in America, al quale fu raccomandato dal benemerito signor conte di Vergennes; ma non se ne sono ancora ricevute le risposte autentiche, che si attendono da detto signor Carroll.

Monsignor nunzio, dalle carte originali che se gli comunicano, vedrà come sia passato tutto questo negoziato. Che à quanto ecc.

XXX. CRISTOFORO PIERACCHI TO THE CARDINAL PREFECT.⁴⁷

Illmo e Revmo Signore, Signore Padrone colendissimo.

Per mezzo di questo ministro plenipotenziario delli Stati Uniti di America ho travato la favorevole occasione di alcuni Americani di conoscenza, e dello stesso paese del signor Carroll per trasmetterli con celerità e sicurezza il piego, che V. S. Illma e Revma si è degnata diriggermi. . . .

Di Vostra Signoria Illma e Revma umilissimo,
devotissimo e obbligatissimo servitore

CRISTOFORO PIERACCHI.

PARIGI 5 Settembre 1785.

XXXI. EXTRACT FROM THE ACTS OF THE CONGREGATION.⁴⁸

In congregatione generali de propaganda fide habita die 14 Septembris 1789 interfuerunt Eminentissimi et Reverendissimi Domini Cardinales sequentes videlicet: Antonelli praefectus, Carrara, Valenti, Archinto, Busca, Borgia. Nec non R. P. D. de Carpineo pro secretarius et protonotarius apostolicus.

Relationes Illmi et Revmi Domini de Carpineo prosecretarii. . . .

5.⁴⁹ Nella congregazione generale de 23 Giugno dell' anno scorso fu riferito un memoriale avanzato a nome di tutto il clero delle provincie confederate di America da tre deputati del medesimo Signor Giovanni Carroll, Roberto Molineux e Giovanni Ashton, nel quale si rappresentava, che per tenere a freno alcuni ecclesiastici contumaci, i quali si vantavano di non esser tenuti ad obbedire ad un semplice vicario, che non esercita che una giurisdizione precaria, e vietata dalle leggi di quella repubblica, e per provvedere altresì più stabilmente al buon ordine e alla propagazione della religione cattolica in quegli stati era assolutamente necessario, che la Santità di Nostro Signore si degnasse di divenire all'erezione di un vescovato, soggetto immediatamente alla Sede Apostolica, e che per render meno sospetta a quel governo, così l'elezione, come l'autorità del nuovo prelato, pareva molto opportuno,

⁴⁷ Scritture Riferite, America Centrale, vol. II., f. 324.

⁴⁸ Atti, 1789, f. 369.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, f. 378 v.

che la Santità Sua si compiacesse altresì di accordare, almeno per questa prima volta, la nomina di esso vescovo a quella parte del clero, che di presente esercita la cura delle anime in dette provincie. Le Eminenze Vostre in vista di tale istanza, dopo un maturo esame, si degnarono di rescrivere: "Consulendum Sanctissimo pro designatione hac vice tantum novi Episcopi, et D. Carroll certioret Sacram Congregationem de loco, ubi episcopatus erigendus sit, vel potius constituendus sit episcopus titularis", e questa determinazione fu benignamente approvata da Sua Beatitudine nell'udienza dei 6 Luglio. Fu pertanto in conformità data notizia a quei deputati della grazia, che loro si accordava da Nostro Signore, ordinando che in primo luogo esaminassero bene di fissare la sede vescovile, e poi se il vescovo si dovesse denominare dal luogo della sede, oppure stabilirvisi un vescovo titolare, dopo di che si permetteva loro di procedere alla nomina di quella persona, che per pietà, prudenza e dottrina avessero stimata più meritevole di questa dignità, per poi riportarne da questa Santa Sede la conferma.

Ora li suddetti deputati, rendendo umilissime grazie al Santo Padre, e a questa Sacra Congregazione della grazia benignamente accordata loro per consolazione e vantaggio spirituale di quel popolo cattolico, scrivono sotto il dì 18 Maggio prossimo passato, che in primo luogo il comune sentimento è stato che un vescovo con giurisdizione ordinaria dovesse essere molto più a proposito pel governo spirituale che un titolare, e anche più gradito e meno sospetto agli stati, di poi che per sede vescovile fu unanimemente prescelta Baltimoria, città situata nel mezzo della Marilandia, dove si trova la maggior parte de' fedeli e de' sacerdoti, e d'onde si è felicemente propagata la religione nelle altre provincie. E finalmente dicono, che dopo celebrata la messa dello Spirito Santo e implorato l'aiuto del Padre dei lumi, esaminati i voti dei presenti, e gli altri trasmessi dai lontani, fu trovato restar legittimamente eletto per nuovo vescovo il Revmo D. Giovanni Carroll attual superiore di quelle missioni, avendo avuto in favore 24 voti, quando due altri candidati, quali furono D. Ignazio Mattheros, e D. Enrico Pile non ebbero che un solo, facendo avvertire, che tre dei votanti, o non vollero, o trascurarono di mandare il loro voto.

Supplicano pertanto la Santità di Nostro Signore perchè si degni di approvare e confermare questa scelta con accordar loro la detta sede vescovile, molto desiderata dal popolo cattolico, e non disgradevole agli stessi protestanti, e si raccomandano a tale effetto alla sperimentata benignità e protezione dell'Eminenze Vostre.

RESCRIPTUM.

Relatis per me litteris sacerdotum animarum curam gerentium in foederatis Americae provinciis, qui indicarunt civitatem Baltimori aptissimam esse pro sede episcopali, et R. D. Joannem Carroll in eiusdem primum Episcopum designarunt, EE. DD. utrumque probaverunt, facto verbo cum Sanctissimo.

Die 17 Septembris eiusdem anni 1789.

Facta per me Sanctissimo relatione, Sanctitas Sua Sacrae Congregationis sententiam benigne probavit, mihique mandavit ut litteras apostolicas conficerem, transmittendas in secreteria Brevium pro expeditione.

L. Card. ANTONELLUS, praefectus.

[In the margin]: Vedi il Registro de' decreti pag. 458. Scritto ai missionari principali degli Stati Uniti ai 14 Novembre. Vedi lettere della S. C. Pag. 599. Scritto all' eletto Carroll. Pag. 668.

XXXII. DECREE OF THE CONGREGATION.⁵⁰

Decretum Sacrae Congregationis generalis de Propaganda fide habitae die 14 Septembris 1789.

Cum Sacrae hujus Congregationis decreto a SSmo. D.N. approbato sancita fuerit maximopere ad catholicae religionis incrementum conducere, si ad spirituale regimen Christi fidelium in Foederatae Americae provinciis degentium constitueretur Episcopus cum ordinaria iurisdictione, atque propterea demandatum fuerit sacerdotibus illuc curam animarum gerentibus, ut inquirerent, in qua potissimum urbe nova sedes episcopalis figenda videretur, tum etiam ex speciali gratia, et pro prima tantum vice iisdem sacerdotibus concessum fuerit, ut situm eligerent huic muneri idoneum Apostolicae Sedi praestandum, atque cum nuper ex eorum litteris Sacrae Congregationi significatum fuerit urbem Baltimore in Marilandia prae omnibus aptissimam indicari, utpote quae sit commercio cum reliquiis provinciis opportunior, ex eaque primum in reliquas catholica religio propagata fuerit; virum autem dignissimum huic tanto ferendo oneri in eorundem sacerdotum conventu, fere cunctis suffragiis renunciatum fuisse R. D. Joannem Caroll, qui jam Vicarii Apostolici munere egregie fungebatur, de iisque rebus omnibus abs se gestis instrumentum etiam ad Sanctam Sedem transmiserint: hinc est quod hic omnibus per me Sacrae Congregationi relatis, EE. DD. censuerunt supplicandum esse Sanctissimo pro erectione urbis Baltimore in sedem episcopalem, et pro confirmatione electionis Joannis Carroll in ejusdem urbis episcopum cum ordinaria iurisdictione super clerum, et populum, omnesque catholicos degentes in provinciis Foederatae Americae imperio subiectis, et cum omnibus aliis facultatibus necessariis et opportunis. Die autem 17 Septembris ejusdem anni facta per me ipsum SSmo Domino Nostro relatione, Sanctitas Sua S Congregationis sententiam benigne approbavit, et litteras apostolicas in forma Brevis expediri mandavit. Datum etc. die etc.

XXXIII. THE CONGREGATION TO FATHER MOLINEUX AND THE OTHER PRIESTS IN AMERICA.⁵¹

R. D. Roberto Molineux, Joanni Ashton, Carolo Sewall aliisque praesbyteris in Foederatis Americae provinciis curam animarum gerentibus.

14 Novembris 1789.

Nihil profecto gratius, atque jucundius nobis accidere poterat, quam quod omni ambitione posthabita, nulloque partium aestu abrepti unanimi pene consensu Joannem Caroll primum episcopum novae istius Baltimorensis ecclesiae designastis. Quum enim SSmus D. N. Pius VI perpetuam plane haberet ejusdem viri probitatem, ac studium singulare, quo isthic diu multumque animarum saluti incubuit, vobis ex speciali gratia, primae huius electionis libertatem, qua tam recte sapienterque usi estis, vestramque electionem ratam habens, literis apostolicis confirmavit. Postquam igitur novus antistes rite consecratus fuerit, nihil aliud restat quam ut vos eidem manus auxiliares certatim porrigatis ad florentissimam istiusmodi vineam excolendam, et in partem pastoralis sollicitudinis admissi, ad istius gregis custodiam collatis viribus satagatis. Sic enim opus a vobis egregie incoeptum felicitatem absolvetis, et in

⁵⁰ Decreti, 1779-1789, f. 458.

⁵¹ Lettere, vol. 255, f. 599.

mystico corpore cui modo caput impositum est, fiet, quod in primis Christi cultoribus mirari licuit, cor unum, et anima una. Quod quidem quum certum habeamus fore, ut vos exacto praestetis, nos quoque vobiscum Deum Optimum Maximum deprecabimur, ut vestri Episcopi electio justissimo optatis vestris, nostrisque votis respondeat.

XXXIV. THE CONGREGATION TO BISHOP CARROLL.⁵²

D. Joanni Caroll Episcopo Baltimorensi.

14 Novembris 1789.

Quam mirifice laetati simus, quod praestantissimus iste presbyterorum conventus jussu Sacrae hujus Congregationis coactus, cunctis fere suffragiis in te conspiraverit, ac ad novam sedis Baltimorensis cathedram occupandam designaverit, non satis verbis explicare possumus. Nam primum maximam in spem erigimur, quod christiana plebs novi episcopi solatio corroborata in fide, ac fidei operibus conlalescat magis, et confirmetur. Deinde nobismetipsis gratulamur te nova hac dignitatis acceptione ab isto clero indicatum fuisse. Ea enim est virtutum tuarum in nobis praeconcepta opinio, ut nullo modo dubitare possimus, quin et novi pariter, atque oneri cumulatissime satisfacias. Huius tam juste a nobis susceptae laetitiae particeps etiam fuit SSmus D. N. Pius Papa VI qui cum te pridem vicarium apostolicum in istis provinciis deputasset, libentissime etiam augendae dignitatis tuae occasionem amplexus est, ideoque te ipsum novum episcopum Baltimorensis litteris apostolicis, quae heic alligatae transmittuntur, ex plenitudine apostolicae potestatis declaravit. Itaque de hac nova amplissima tua dignitate gratulamur, utque gregis tuae curae commissis custodiam alacri animo suscipias. Dei omnipotentis auxilio fretus, vehementer hortamur. Illustre ac gloriosum est Dominicae istius vineae primas Deo quasi fruges offerre posse. Fruere igitur tanto bono in tuam non modo, quam aliorum salutem, et catholicae fidei incrementum quam in dissitis novi istius orbis provinciis in dies magis magisque radices propagaturam fore confidimus. Ne iis destitutus sis facultatibus, quas Sedes Apostolica Indiarum atque Americae Episcopis concedere consuevit, adiungimus tibi earum formulam primam, quibus uti poteris cum dioecesanis tuis, prout salubriter in Domino expedire judicaveris, utere tamen etiam tamquam Episcopus iis facultatibus extraordinariis quae tibi tamquam Vicario Apostolico pridem concessae sunt. Si cuiuslibet alterius indigeas, refer a me omnia diligenter, et quaecumque ad animarum salutem pertinent officia desiderari non sinam. Cum primum peteris omnes provincias et catholicorum loca visita per te ipsum, dissolutos mores corrige, abusus termina, hortare missionarios, ut naviter sua munera exequantur, neminem patiaris sine tua venia animarum curam gerere, et sacramenta ministrare. Si eorum penuria laboras, vide ex quo potissimum regno sint evocandi, sed diligenter etiam animadvertite, ne ex varia indolis, ac ingenii, prout fere sunt diversarum regionum homines, rixae, ac discordiae exoriantur. Ob quam potissimum causam Italos sacerdotes, qui praeterea anglicum sermonem perraro callent, isthuc transire non permittimus. Nemini cito manus imponas, sed eos solum, qui in seminario pietati, ac studiis egregiam operam navarunt, in cleri militiam adscribe. Coeterum Deus te sospitet in multos annos ad istius Ecclesiae salutem, et incrementum.

⁵² Lettere, vol. 255, f. 668.

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

GENERAL BOOKS AND BOOKS OF ANCIENT HISTORY

Historical Essays. By JAMES FORD RHODES, LL.D., D. Litt. (New York: The Macmillan Company. 1909. Pp. ix, 335.)

WE who have read with admiration Mr. Rhodes's great history are pleased to find in this volume a series of essays and biographical sketches which take us into his confidence and reveal to us so much of the man and his method of work. It may be that his associates, the older historical students, have known these things, but the younger men, though they have ever found a hearty welcome when they have ventured to approach him, have not felt free to pry into the secrets of his historical trade. In these essays we are admitted at once. Of his preparation for history writing he says: "Whatever training I had beyond that of self came from the mastery, under the guidance of teachers, of certain general historians belonging to an epoch when power of expression was as much studied as the collecting and sifting of evidence." This lack of the technical training, enjoyed by a generation of students younger than himself, was, Mr. Rhodes tells us candidly in his sympathetic essay on Edward G. Bourne, compensated for by the aid and advice given by that distinguished scholar. Perhaps the history of the Civil War as a great human production is the better for Mr. Rhodes's having brought to it not the critic's training, but the hard sense and the charm of a big, honest, sincere nature. He has taken first of all a man's interest in his subject. Few historians could have dispensed with technical training as Rhodes has done, but he by common-sense, patience, and fairness has won from critics the reputation for telling the truth and never sacrificing it because tempted by the opportunity for effect. Even in the manner of taking his notes he is not orthodox, for he tells us that he has taken them mainly in note-books, and by colored pencils of emphasis and summary kept before him the prominent facts which he wished to combine. He aimed to study his authorities in logical succession, in the order of their estimated importance. In some cases he did draw off his memoranda from note-books to cards. He could digest his materials better this way, but in the main found that frequent re-perusal of his notes answered fully as well. He quotes Carlyle with approval on trying "to keep the whole matter *simmering* in the living mind". The emphasis which he places upon the writing of history as compared with the investigation is revealed in all of his essays wherein history is the subject. He tells of striving to acquire a style by reading a page of some admired author and then trying to reproduce it from memory.

Macaulay and Lecky he found lent themselves to this exercise, but Shakespeare, Hawthorne, and Thucydides defied his efforts. Speaking of his use of a dictionary, he says that in its use he learned to pay little attention to the definition, but to regard with care the illustrative citation. He declares himself a slow reader, very envious of Macaulay.

His literary and historical tastes are revealed with refreshing candor. The reading of Latin has always been for him a "grinding labor", and for German he confesses the frequent need of a dictionary, but French is a favorite language wherein his best loved authors seem to be Balzac, Molière, and Sainte-Beuve. In the field of English he speaks only of such historical writers as have been most helpful to him. Of Parkman's works he has read only *Montcalm and Wolfe*, and of Motley's only the *Dutch Republic*. He admires Curtius's chapter on the Years of Peace. Carlyle and Gibbon he holds in the highest estimation. Shakespeare and Homer have helped him most in the study of human character. The first part of Faust, he speaks of as having profoundly affected his life. He is a great admirer of Godkin and expresses his obligation to the *Nation* for his right-thinking upon the tariff, civil service reform, and the silver question.

The address on the Profession of Historian shows clearly the emphasis which the author puts upon writing as compared with investigation. Except that the would-be historian must have an insatiable love of reading little is said about the latter. He urges the mastery of French and Latin, and suggests the uselessness of mathematics. As to physics and natural sciences he suggests getting them at second hand to avoid intellectual scattering. One should read Fiske, Huxley, and Tyndall for that purpose, and the lives of Darwin, Pasteur, and Huxley. Economics he regards as useful. Gibbon, Grote, and Macaulay, he thinks gained strength as historians from their public and business experience, but on the other hand Gardiner and Carlyle had none. Rhodes himself was "immersed in business" from the age of twenty-two to thirty-seven, and began to write his history at forty.

C. H. VAN TYNE.

La Campagna Romana Antica, Medioevale e Moderna. Volume I.

La Campagna Romana in Genere. By GIUSEPPE TOMASSETTI.
(Rome: E. Loescher and Company. 1910. Pp. 354.)

THE veteran author of *La Campagna Romana nel Medio Evo* has now published the first volume of what will doubtless be his *magnum opus*, and has put all who are interested in the history and topography of central Italy under still greater obligations to him. In this history of the Campagna from the earliest times, he proposes (p. 1) "to set forth in historical and topographical order all the notes that he has collected in thirty-two years from earlier publications and from public and private archives". This volume, the first of three, is divided into four main sections, the first of which contains a description of the

natural conditions, geological, geographical, etc., of the Campagna, and the second a sketch of its cities and inhabitants during the prehistoric and Roman periods, with an account of their institutions, political, social, and economic. The third section is devoted to a discussion of the gradual changes that were brought about in those institutions during the Middle Ages, and to a description of life in the Campagna from various points of view. The last section deals with the Campagna of modern times in a somewhat similar way, and contains much information that has hitherto been almost inaccessible upon many interesting topics. Thus we have a discriminating account of all the maps of the Campagna that have been published since 1500 A. D., and a complete list of the 428 *tenute*, or farms, into which the district is now divided, with the exact area of each.

As was to be expected of Tomassetti, the emphasis is laid on the medieval and modern rather than on the ancient period, and the usefulness of the book for the classical student is very limited. The treatment of the prehistoric and Roman periods is meagre, perfunctory, and unsatisfactory, and it would have been better if the author had intrusted this part of his work to some collaborator, or had at least submitted it to some one for revision. Errors are not infrequent, and but little use has been made of recent literature, if one may judge from the views that are advanced, and from such notes as that on page 57 where the reader is referred for the history of the imperial post to Naudet's work of 1858. There is no ground for even a possible identification of the illusive Pelasgians with the Philistines (p. 28), and the modern hamlet of Isola Farnese is not the site of the acropolis of Veii (p. 37). On page 34 one Kennedy is associated with Bopp as a contemporary investigator in the field of comparative philology, and in the list of bridges (pp. 60-61) which "preserve their original construction in whole or in part" we find the Ponte Lupo, but no mention of the Ponte S. Gregorio, Ponte S. Pietro, and Ponte S. Antonio, which are in the immediate neighborhood and belong to the same period. Early Roman religion was not "derived exclusively from pasturage and agriculture" (p. 92), nor were the Lares the "twelve sons of Acca Larentia" (p. 93). In spite of Mommsen's partial authority, *Parilia* probably has nothing to do with the verb *pario* (p. 95), and it is misleading to say (p. 98) that in the celebration of the *ludi saeculares* Diana and Apollo "represented the divinities of the woods".

Criticisms of this sort, however, do not apply to the main portion of the work which will be found very interesting and valuable. It represents an enormous amount of patient labor, but one cannot help feeling that the observance of a somewhat more rigorous method in the sifting and arrangement of the material would have added to the pleasure of the reader and to the value of the book. It is very encouraging to find the voice of so influential a man as Tomassetti raised in protest against the eagerness of the modern Italian to cut down every tree which may still be found standing.

S. B. P.

The Roman Republic. In three volumes. By W. E. HEITLAND, M.A., Fellow of St. John's College. (Cambridge: University Press; New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1909. Pp. xiv, 355; 534; 563.)

THIS work, opening with an introduction of fifty pages, which deals with the geographical and ethnographical conditions of Italy and the institutions under the kings, covers the history of Rome to 42 B. C. The author does not aim to reconstruct the story of the Republic on new lines. He makes no radical readjustments of the political and economic factors which enter into it, and no novel changes in our conceptions of the character and the importance of those who take part in it. Although his work appears to rest on a fresh study of the sources, he does not seem to be familiar in all cases with the critical examinations which have been made of them by modern scholars, and many readers will think that in some parts of his narrative he has accepted the statements and conclusions of the ancient historians with too much confidence. A case in point is furnished by his interpretation of Rome's policy in Greece and the East, in chapters xxvii.—xxxi. However, Professor Heitland is free from prejudice; he has no preconceived theories into which the facts are made to fit, no craving for dramatic effects, and shows throughout his work a remarkably sound judgment in dealing with the evidence before him.

Given these qualities, naturally he does not incline to speculate. His treatise is in fact a descriptive history, and has the defects and merits of such a work. At many points in reading it we have asked ourselves the why and the how, but have found no answer in the text. How did the kingship develop out of the political and social conditions of the earlier period? What connection, if any, have the financial duties of the Republican quaestor with the police duties of his regal predecessor? How did the tribune acquire the power to sit in the senate and preside over it? How did the two colleges of aediles, which were at first very different from each other in respect of technical character and official dignity, amalgamate later into what was practically a single college made up of members whose duties and position in the community were the same? There are matters more fundamental still whose significance is not noted or is lightly passed over. What constitutional importance, for instance, have the Laws of the Twelve Tables? From the author's account of their contents the reader can draw his own conclusions perhaps, but in so extensive a history, devoted to politics, we expect an adequate discussion of their place in the development of Roman public law. We look in vain too for any comments on the Ovinian law or on the revolutionary theory of government underlying the removal of Octavius from the tribunate. In particular we miss a comprehensive survey of the growth of Roman imperial policy and an analysis of the motives which actuated the Romans at different periods in their dealings with other peoples. On the other hand, the work has in a pre-

eminent degree the merits of a descriptive history. The very fact that our attention is centred on persons and events rather than on tendencies, or motives, or economic considerations, gives a peculiar dramatic interest to the story as the writer tells it. One feels this particularly in reading volume III. which deals with the years following the dictatorship of Sulla. Nowhere else does the reviewer know so graphic an account, as is to be found in this volume, of political conditions in Rome and the manoeuvres of Caesar, Crassus, Bibulus, Clodius, and the other politicians of the period.

The chapters on the constitution follow Mommsen's *Staatsrecht* very closely, even at points where many scholars to-day are inclined to dissent from Mommsen. The writer not only seems to hold, for instance, that the plebeians lacked the full measure of their political rights, but he is favorably inclined toward Professor Ridgeway's theory that "the patricians are identified with the Sabines, and are thus an aristocracy of conquerors, while the plebeians are the ancient inhabitants of Latium." He seems also to recognize four distinct popular assemblies. In this connection it may be noted that the discussion of the terms *comitia* and *concilium* could have been much improved had Professor Botsford's book on the *Roman Assemblies* appeared in time for the writer to use.

Professor Heitland's main object, as he tells us in his preface, is a political study, and the slight attention which he has given to economic considerations for the years of the revolution is in striking contrast to Ferrero's treatment of the same period. In this respect he seems to have allowed a wholesome reaction to carry him too far. Notwithstanding his disavowal of any intention to discuss social or literary details, chapters xx. and lxi. on social conditions are excellent, and chapter lx. contains an admirable estimate of the literary men of the first century. This makes it hard to understand the brief and perfunctory treatment which Plautus, Terence, and some of the other writers of the second century receive.

The books are divided into numbered paragraphs which facilitate reference; the sketch-maps answer their purpose well, and the index is unusually complete and well arranged. Too high praise cannot be paid to the clear and strong style. This quality, with the fair-mindedness and sanity of judgment which characterize the work, make it one of the most readable and trustworthy accounts which we have of the Republican period.

FRANK FROST ABBOTT.

BOOKS OF MEDIEVAL AND MODERN EUROPEAN HISTORY

Paris sous les Premiers Capétiens (987-1223): Étude de Topographie Historique. Par LOUIS HALPHEN, Docteur ès Lettres, Secrétaire de l'École des Chartes. (Paris: Ernest Leroux. 1909. Pp. 123.)

THIS work forms the first number of a new series, *Bibliothèque d'Histoire de Paris*, which will have a place beside the well-known *Histoire Générale de Paris*. The older collection is designed for extensive documentary undertakings. The new series is to include works of less scope—studies and editions of documents on special points. Published under the auspices of the Service de la Bibliothèque et des Travaux Historiques de la Ville, it bears witness to the efficient direction of that service by M. Marcel Poëte, whose lectures in this country last year many Americans will recall with pleasure. The field to be cultivated is strictly local: “histoire topographique ou histoire de la collectivité parisienne, des institutions qui ont régi cette collectivité et des événements auxquels elle a pris une part *directe*”. Fittingly enough the opening number has to do with topography, and with topography in one of the earlier periods of the city's history.

How did Paris take form territorially? What transformations did it undergo in the period of the first Capetians? What picture should one have of it for the time of Philip Augustus? Such questions were of course asked long ago. Satisfactory answers to them, however, have not been given, either in extensive works on the history of the city—notably Félibien and Lobineau for the general history, Lebeuf and his editors for ecclesiastical, and Jaillot for topographical, matters—or in special studies like those which have thus far appeared in the *Topographie Historique du Vieux Paris*. Accordingly, though the documents still offer many obstacles—being rare, scattered, and often not explicit—M. Halphen has made a new attempt to answer the questions. He has presented his results in five chapters, two appendixes, and an album of plates.

He shows in the first chapter how Paris at the end of the tenth century, when the Capetians made it the capital of the kingdom, was still practically conterminous with the island where its inhabitants had taken refuge during the hard fortunes of the preceding century. In the second and third chapters, he traces, at least in general lines, first the gradual reclamation of the inhospitable marshy prairies to the north and the establishment of most of the commercial and industrial groups on that side, then the far slower growth to the southward, where much of the land was already occupied by vineyards. In the fourth chapter he deals in considerable detail with the wall of Philip Augustus. In the fifth he describes the city at the beginning of the thirteenth century: the island, with its royal palace, churches, and stirring university body; the two bridges, that to the north crowded with houses

and people, that to the south less built-up and not so busy; the right bank, with Grand Châtelet, shops, new market-halls, and numerous river-craft; the left bank, more quiet, even quite rural in spots, but gradually livening up, especially with the building of the Petit Châtelet and the immigration of turbulent students; finally, the streets, some twenty-four to twenty-eight feet wide, more from nine to sixteen feet, one less than five feet, and the principal ones paved—this, though, only after Philip Augustus was incommoded by the intolerable odors that rose to his window as vehicles passing below stirred up the filth.

Thus M. Halphen has assembled the varied bits of information now available on the topography of Paris in the earlier Capetian period, and by putting them together in orderly and, be it added, trustworthy fashion, has made a useful contribution to the history of the city. Two things, moreover, he has been able to do with special fullness. One is the treatment of Philip's wall. He not only indicates the rôle of that wall in the expansion of the city, sets forth with sufficient precision the course it followed, and gives details on the way it was built, but also illustrates all this with sixteen figures in the text and eleven plates in an accompanying album. Among the plates are two of rather large size, the first outlining the wall on a plan of modern Paris, the second showing the wall and the other features of Paris in the time of Philip Augustus. The other thing done most fully is the "Nomenclature des Rues, Lieux Dits et Monuments de Paris à l'Époque de Philippe Auguste", which forms appendix II. and occupies over half the book. This nomenclature, though presented simply as an essay, susceptible of much correction and enlargement, will prove a serviceable tool.

A History of the Mediæval Political Theory in the West. By R. W. CARLYLE, C.I.E., and A. J. CARLYLE, M.A., Chaplain and Lecturer of University College, Oxford. Volume II. *The Political Theory of the Roman Lawyers and the Canonists, from the Tenth Century to the Thirteenth Century.* By A. J. CARLYLE, M.A. (Edinburgh and London: William Blackwood and Sons. 1909. Pp. xix, 274.)

THE first volume of this work was reviewed in this journal (X. 629), and this second volume by the same author exhibits all the admirable characteristics as are there mentioned. As if to remedy the one serious defect there called attention to, the author has in this volume given a list of the modern authorities which he has consulted and in the foot-notes and in the body of the work he has referred to them.

This second volume, as the subtitle indicates, deals with the political theory of the Roman lawyers and the canonists from the tenth century to the thirteenth. The author has made it a distinctly technical and legal work and one must not turn to it with the expectation of finding

a consideration of any of the popular and controversial works of the epoch. "In our next volume", he says (p. 145), "we hope to discuss the theory as illustrated by the general literature of the eleventh, twelfth, and thirteenth centuries, and we shall then deal with the highly controversial writings which belong to the long struggle between the Empire and the Papacy."

In this volume he lays it down as his object to present to his readers "the political ideas embodied in the two great systems of law which are derived directly from the ancient world". With this in view he divides the work into two parts: part I. deals with the political theory of the Roman lawyers and part II. with the political theory of the canon law. The author feels that a survey of these two systems is necessary before a proper understanding of the political theory of the Middle Ages can be had. He calls attention to the fact that some of our modern writers on political theory of the Middle Ages have failed in their task because they have not made a careful study of these systems before taking up the controversial literature. "Even now", he says (p. 2), "it is probably true to say that much confusion has been brought into the treatment of mediæval ideas and civilisation by the fact that many writers have not been at pains to distinguish between individual speculation and controversy and the normal judgment of the ordinary intelligent man."

The theories taken up under these two systems are much the same as those as were indicated in the chapter-headings of the first volume: the theory of law, of natural law, of slavery, of property, of the source of political authority, of the relation of Church and State. Frequently throughout the work the author shows in what high regard he holds the strictly legal writers on the Roman and canon law when contrasted with the controversial writers of a contemporary or subsequent epoch. He seems inclined to belittle the latter. "It is necessary", he says (p. 94), "to distinguish carefully between incidental and sometimes hasty sayings, made under the stress of some great controversy, and judgments expressed in legal and other works which were compiled in cold blood and represent reasoned and considered conclusions." True as this statement is the author seemingly overlooks the fact that it was the theories advanced in controversy and having little foundation in fact that had the greatest influence on history. It was through the bitter wrangles that the theories of the Roman lawyers and the canonists became known to the world. Had it not been for the controversialists these theories might have lain in their learned tomes unread and unheard of.

Aside from this somewhat unconscious bias in favor of the strictly legal writers the same high standard set in the first volume is maintained in the second. The value of the work is not impaired in the least, as the author seems to feel that it might be, by the fact that he has not been able to consult manuscript sources (pp. viii, 192). An

exhaustive examination of the manuscripts of the period yields very little that is new. They are generally merely confirmatory of that which has already appeared in print.

JAMES SULLIVAN.

Philipp II. August, König von Frankreich. Von Dr. ALEXANDER CARTELLIERI, o. ö. Professor der Geschichte an der Universität Jena. Band III. *Philipp August und Richard Löwenherz (1192-1199).* (Leipzig: Dyksche Buchhandlung; Paris: H. le Soudier. 1910. Pp. xxiii, 263.)

PROFESSOR CARTELLIERI of the University of Jena is making the history of Philip Augustus almost a life-work. His first volume, taking up the period from 1165 to 1189, was issued in 1899, 1900; the second, treating the relation of the French sovereign to the Third Crusade, and especially the fateful disputes between Philip and Richard Coeur de Lion, was published in 1906; and now comes the third volume of his work, extending from Philip's return from the crusade to the death of Richard Coeur de Lion. The general quality of Professor Cartellieri's work has already been indicated in notices in this REVIEW of the earlier volumes. The same thoroughness, wide knowledge of the sources, and patient investigation which have marked the work thus far appear in, if possible, heightened measure in this third installment. Professor Cartellieri's present volume falls naturally into two sections: the first treating of the relations of the French king to Richard Coeur de Lion's imprisonment, and the second to the war between the two sovereigns which filled the five years, with occasional truces, from 1194 to 1199. Cartellieri makes evident that the effect of the controversies between French and English in the crusade, which he amply described in the second volume, was to greatly increase the hatred between the two rivals. The criticisms of the French on Richard's conduct of the crusade he regards as largely well based, for the failure of the crusade was more the fault of Richard than of Philip. For Philip, Richard's unexpected imprisonment in Germany was an immense advantage, and the conquest of Richard's Norman possessions which the French king was able to effect under these circumstances, though small in territorial amount, was of much strategic importance; and their retention was the prime cause of the following five years of warfare between the two sovereigns. In that struggle Cartellieri shows the immense danger in which Philip stood, not merely from the greater superiority in resources of men and wealth of the Plantagenet ruler, who was successful in securing many of Philip's natural supporters by subsidies, but from the constant peril in which the French were placed by the prospects of German-English combination. Cartellieri makes abundantly evident the political disadvantages, especially in relation to the Church, which were the consequences of Philip's ill-treatment of his queen,

Ingeborg, and his marriage with Agnes of Meran, both of which fall within this period. He gives adequate political explanation for Philip's marriage to the Danish princess and for his dissatisfaction with the consequences of that union; but the personal motives of the king's unjustifiable treatment of his queen remain as obscure as ever. The struggle between Philip and Richard Coeur de Lion is an unsatisfactory one for the historian because of its lack of a decisive battle. Either side seems to have been afraid to push the other too far; but, on the whole, it was a losing struggle for the French king, and in spite of the prompt and vigorous interference of Innocent III., begun almost immediately on the opening of his pontificate, affairs were so going that the death of Richard must be counted one of the greatest pieces of good fortune that came to Philip during his reign. Cartellieri has treated an obscure, confused, and involved period in the work of Philip Augustus with a clearness and fullness of investigation that deserves the heartiest commendation.

WILLISTON WALKER.

Le Pape et le Concile (1418-1450). Par NOËL VALOIS, Membre de l'Institut. Tome II. *La Crise Religieuse du XV^e Siècle*. (Paris: Alphonse Picard et Fils. 1909. Pp. 426.)

THE second volume of M. Noël Valois's *Le Pape et le Concile* covers the years from 1418 to 1450 and opens with the definite rupture between the council and the papacy. It finds the pope at Florence, and from the temporal point of view the papal situation considerably improved upon that described in the preceding volume.

We are accustomed to assume that the popes of the fifteenth century were patrons of Renaissance culture, as was Martin V., or intriguing diplomats like Sixtus IV. and Alexander VI., and not men of war. Julius II. is the type of the fighting pope that comes to mind; but M. Valois shows that Eugene IV. was quite as bellicose if not so great an actual warrior as the famous delle Rovere pontiff. He was an astute and pugnacious diplomat. There is not space to enter into the tortuous politics of the Church which culminated at last in the triumph of Eugene IV. over the council at Basel in spite of their action in suspending him. The author traces with great care and minuteness the course of the council in deposing the pope and setting up an anti-pope and the gradual development of a party of neutrality in the council, owing to a revolt within its membership against the drastic policy of the radical element.

The influence of this neutral party affected the policy of France, Castile, and Germany, which at first had united their efforts in favor of the schismatic movement at Basel. In spite of the difficulties of his situation, Eugene IV. clung to his course. He summoned a new council at Ferrara (later transferred to Florence) as a foil to that of Basel, in which the primacy of the papacy was recognized and proclaimed

and the union of the Greek church realized, at least on paper (July 5, 1439). Whatever may be said of the rights or wrongs of the conciliar-papal issue, the attitude of the council toward the Greek church, as here carefully outlined, deserves heavy censure and the catastrophe of 1453 is plainly foreshadowed. What would have been the result of the consolidation of Eastern and Western Christendom against the Turk may be more or less problematical, but, in the face of the danger, the narrowness and particularism of the clergy of the Latin church is deplorable, and Eugene IV. is to be credited with a statesmanlike policy in this respect which failed through no fault of his. The scandalous disputes that took place at the council in the presence of the Greek envoys, the details of which are here minutely set forth (pp. 70-81), shamed Europe.

In the course of the struggle the pope could count upon the support of King René, the Duke of Burgundy, England, and Castile. It is most interesting to observe the political division of Europe upon the issue. One naturally expects to find England and France upon opposite sides in the last stages of the Hundred Years' War, but to find France so divided against itself is astonishing. Perhaps the most original part of this history is that which deals with the secession of the Midi, while Charles VII. was an advocate of the conciliar party (pp. 211-224).

The question of what policy France should assume was thrashed out at Bourges and has been partially covered by M. Valois in a former work. Domestic conditions at last forced the issue. Charles VII., moved by the war of the Praguerie, turned toward Eugene IV. on the condition that he should unequivocally favor the Angevin claims, although the University of Paris, in spite of the royal instructions, still adhered to the council of Basel and welcomed the creation of some French cardinals by Felix V.

The conciliar party, not being successful in forcing either King Albert or the electors of the Empire from their neutrality, pinned their hope upon Frederick III. At the diet of Mainz, March, 1441, an agreement was entered into between Germany and France, which united to impose upon both parties the arbitration of a third council, to which Frederick III. acceded.

In the mean time the cause of Felix V., the anti-pope, was recruited by partizans in Poland, Bohemia, Prussia, Pomerania, Scotland, and the Swiss cantons. The Duke of Milan after offering to sell his support to Felix V. declared for Eugene IV., and together the two plotted to overthrow Sforza, who favored the anti-pope.

It remained to placate Alphonso V., who planned to conquer the states of the Church for Felix. But Eugene IV. compromised with Alphonso by conferring the investiture of Naples upon him, and at the same time pacified France for the loss of Naples by supporting her in Switzerland, and abandoning to Charles VII. the government of Avignon and the Comtat Venaissin. In return France threw its influence

against the anti-pope. At the same time the emperor was drawn away from support of Felix V. and formally declared for Eugene IV. in February, 1446, a triumph due to the influence of Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini, who later received his reward by becoming Pius II. This secession was followed by that of Casimir of Poland. At this juncture Eugene IV. died just as the tide was turning strongly in his favor. His successor, Nicholas V., reaped the fruit of his policy. The council at Basel was scattered by Frederick III., and the abdication of Felix V. followed on April 7, 1449.

Thus, after years of storm and strife, of tortuous intrigue and subtle diplomacy, the papacy came back to its moorings once more. The jubilee year of 1450, with its thousands of pilgrims on the road to Rome, attested the recovered prestige of the Vatican. And yet the papacy never wholly recovered from the wounds of the Great Schism and the conflict of the councils, for its adversaries were not completely vanquished. It weathered one crisis with torn sails, to enjoy a brief period of Renaissance splendor and then to sail into the thunderstorm of the Reformation.

As one comes to the end of M. Valois's long and minute study, a comparison is inevitably drawn in the mind of the reader between his work and those of Creighton and Pastor. There is great difference between them. M. Valois has derived his information most largely from French sources; Creighton used German most fully and some Italian sources; Pastor based his work to the largest degree upon the Vatican archives, which were thrown open to him by Leo XIII.

As the sources differ, so does the method in each case. Creighton's work abounds with intellectual and culture history, skilful portraiture, and great descriptive power. Pastor's work is an erudite and brilliant argument in support of the doctrine of papal authority. On the other hand, the volumes before us might be characterized as a diplomatic history of the Church in the first half of the fifteenth century. It is pre-eminently a political work, and is absorbed with the politics of the Church. The thesis of the author is to show the preponderance of France in this diplomacy and to establish its credit for the restoration of the papacy.

JAMES WESTFALL THOMPSON.

Briefe an Desiderius Erasmus. Herausgegeben von J. FÖRSTEMANN und O. GÜNTHER. [Beihefte zum *Zentralblatt für Bibliothekswesen* XXVII.] (Leipzig: Harrassowitz. 1904. Pp. xx, 460.)

Opus Epistolarum Des. Erasmi Roterodami. Denuo recognitum et auctum per P. S. ALLEN, M.A., Collegii Mertonensis Socium. Tomus I., 1484-1514; Tomus II., 1514-1517. (Oxonii: in Typographeo Clarendoniano. 1906, 1910. Pp. xxiv, 615; xx, 603.)

THE first decade of the twentieth century has witnessed an extraordinary interest in Erasmus's correspondence. Besides the scholarly translation of the earlier letters by Mr. F. M. Nichols, several hundred unpublished epistles have been printed and a new edition of the whole collection undertaken and begun in a masterly way.

In 1901 Casimir von Miaskowski published forty-three recently discovered letters in the *Jahrbuch für Philosophie* (1901, pp. 195 ff. and 307 ff.). These, together with some articles by the editor (*op. cit.*, 1900, pp. 351 ff., and 1901, pp. 105 ff., and separately, *Die Correspondenz des Erasmus mit Polen*, Posen, 1901), throw a strong light on the relations of the great humanist with Poles, and especially to the great family of Lasco, to one of which he sold his library.

One of the blank-books in which Erasmus's secretaries copied the letters sent to their master came, about a hundred years ago, into the hands of Herr Burscher of Leipzig, and was partly published by him in the *Festschriften* of the university. As the work was both incomplete and imperfect the late Herr Förstemann undertook a new edition of the whole which was finished after his death by his friend Herr Günther. The collection contains two hundred and thirty-two letters to Erasmus, and a careful register of their writers with bibliographical material and references. Though these notes show deep study, the work of the editors has been supplemented and corrected in many points by the subsequent book of Enthoven, and this in turn has been subjected to the same process in an article by Professor H. de Vocht in *Englische Studien* (Leipzig, 1909, vol XL., pt. III., pp. 372 ff.). Perhaps the most interesting epistle is that of Francis Rabelais of November 30, 1532 (no. 182), with the young enthusiast's acknowledgment of his debt "for my whole being and worth to thee alone" (*quidquid sum et valeo, id tibi uni*). That in fact the Frenchman borrowed a great deal from the elder scholar has been demonstrated by a careful study by Professor Thuasne (*Études sur Rabelais*, Paris, 1904, no. 2). Among other new and important letters are some written by Capito, Mutian, Emser, Lupset, Sir Thomas More, Spalatin, and Peter Barbier. The variety of subjects covered is large, but it is rather noticeable that many of the communications are on money matters, especially on the pension from the emperor which seems to have been very hard to collect.

A new edition of the entire correspondence has been long desired and frequently planned. Mr. Allen undertook the work while Professor Froude was lecturing on Erasmus at Oxford, and, laboring with great thoroughness, has now, after seventeen years, brought out two volumes containing perhaps a quarter of the entire material. In these he publishes about six hundred epistles of which sixty-five are not found in the largest previous edition (that of Le Clerc) and of which eleven were unpublished. In the difficult task of restoring the chronological order Mr. Allen has used the results of essays by Dr. Richter,

Dr. Reich, and Mr. Nichols, but has revised and tested them exhaustively, ransacking the libraries of Europe to explain a single allusion. The headings, notes, and appendixes supply invaluable biographical material. The text is treated in exemplary manner, the printing is almost faultless, and the whole is pervaded by the finest literary feeling as well as by the soundest scholarship. Several facsimiles of manuscripts are given, and the second volume is embellished with reproductions of Quentin Matsys's portraits of Erasmus and Gillis.

Brilliant as is the success of Mr. Allen, even he occasionally nods. The worst mistakes in the first volume are in notes (pp. 28, 32) to an introductory epistle, where the editor wrongly explains some allusions of Erasmus to Luther and even supposes that the writer is in error. This blunder would have been avoided had Mr. Allen used Ender's recent edition of Luther's letters instead of the old edition of De Wette, and it is easily corrected by referring to the modern work (Enders, III. 278, 375, and IV. 233, 319).

The only indisputable mistake of importance which I have noted in the second volume is the conjectural dating of Duke George's letter (no. 514) from Weimar. As this town was not in his dominions, but in Ernestine Saxony, the heading is wrong and a more likely one would be Leipzig or Dresden. I am also convinced that Mr. Allen has wrongly placed epistle 527 in 1517. In this missive Pirckheimer encloses a note from Emser, of the Leipzig faculty, inquiring on what terms, if any, Erasmus will come to that university. Pirckheimer expresses the hope that Erasmus will accept the invitation, for then he will pass through Nuremberg on his way. This phrase distinctly implies that Erasmus was at that time living at Basel and not in the Netherlands; I am therefore inclined to place the letter (without date in the original) in 1516. It is, however, worth noting in this connection that on May 31, 1520, Luther writes Spalatin: "Lipsenses jactant Erasmus ad sese venturum" (Enders, II. 406).

In other points of relatively small importance other students will differ from some of Mr. Allen's conclusions but all must be grateful for his splendid work.

PRESERVED SMITH.

Geschichte des Fränkischen Kreises: Darstellung und Akten. Erster Band. *Die Geschichte des Fränkischen Kreises von 1521-1559.* Bearbeitet von FRITZ HARTUNG. [Veröffentlichungen der Gesellschaft für Fränkische Geschichte.] (Leipzig: Quelle und Meyer. 1910. Pp. xxxviii, 461.)

THE constitutional history of the old Holy Roman Empire received relatively little attention from historians of the nineteenth century until the recent studies of Karl Zeumer and his pupils. This is especially true of the history of the "circles". Until the appearance of the volume under review no study of great value had been made of any single

circle or of the circle organization as a whole since the publication of the twenty-sixth volume of J. J. Moser's *Teutsches Staatsrecht*, in 1746. Moser, however, like so many juristic writers of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, was chiefly concerned to give a satisfactory juristic definition of the powers and duties of the circles; and he based his description mainly on literal enactments or on stereotyped formulas which had been handed down. Dr. Hartung, on the other hand, as editor for a local German historical society, has studied the Franconian Circle as a living organism and has shown its historical growth. Since he wrote, a similar study has been made of the Lower Saxon Circle up to 1542 by A. Neukirch. It is only upon the basis of several such local studies that there can be written a really satisfactory account of the circle organization as a whole.

In a general introduction (pp. 3-155) Dr. Hartung traces the attempts at administrative reform in the Empire from the time of Rudolph of Hapsburg to 1521. The weakening of the Empire, the dynastic policy of the Hapsburgs, and the defiant attitude of the growing territorial princes made evident the desirability of some efficient machinery for enforcing order in Germany. Many plans were proposed; that of 1438 perhaps came nearest to success and had most influence on the plan actually adopted in 1500. All the projects prior to 1500 had been shipwrecked on the jealousy of the different princes and political groups toward each other and toward the emperor. The princes admitted that political conditions were bad, but looked askance at any reform which might limit their individual freedom. Finally, however, they agreed in 1500 to a division of the Empire into ten districts or "circles". At first these circles were nothing but geographical expressions; they had almost no corporate life or activity. The Franconian Circle had only one session in the two decades following its creation, and the Rhine circles did not dare to proceed to execution against Franz von Sickingen when requested to do so by Maximilian in 1515.

In a special introduction (pp. 159-233) Dr. Hartung gives an excellent sketch showing how the Franconian Circle gradually grew in activity and power. Its leading members were the bishops of Bamberg, Würzburg, and Eichstätt, the princes of Anspach-Baireuth, Hohenlohe, Henneberg, and Schwarzenberg, and five Free Cities, including Nuremberg. In 1530 and 1532 the circle loyally raised troops and chose a commander to help defend Germany from the Turkish peril. Some members joined the Schmalkald League and some sided with the emperor, but the circle as a corporate whole remained neutral. By 1559 the circle had so developed that it had a permanent military captain, council, and treasury. It had the oversight of the coinage and executed justice against disturbers of the public peace. But it was still far from having the power and pomp which it acquired in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Before 1559 no delegate ever appeared at the Circle Diet driving more than two horses, and the longest session lasted only six days.

The documents in the last half of the volume are well chosen to show the development of the Franconian Circle from 1521 to 1559 as a corporate organization, but are singularly barren of general information in regard to this interesting period. They contain practically nothing on the Peasants' Revolt, the Pack Affair, or Luther and religious questions.

SIDNEY B. FAY.

Histoire de la Compagnie de Jésus en France: Des Origines à la Suppression (1528-1762). Par le P. HENRI FOUQUERAY, S.J. Tome I. *Les Origines et les Premières Luites (1528-1575)*. (Paris: Alphonse Picard et Fils. 1910. Pp. xxv, 673.)

Les Jésuites. Par H. BOEHMER, Professeur à l'Université de Bonn. Ouvrage traduit de l'Allemand, avec une Introduction et des Notes par GABRIEL MONOD, Membre de l'Institut. (Paris: Armand Colin. 1910. Pp. lxxxiii, 304.)

OF the histories of the Jesuits by countries (*Assistentia* is the Jesuit term, but from the first the Assistances were national in scope, and these histories prove yet more so) Father Fouqueray's work on the Jesuits in France is the fifth to begin its appearance. Father Astrain's first volume on the Jesuits in Spain was issued in 1902, and was followed by a second in 1905. In 1907 Father Hughes's on the Jesuits in North America and Father Duhr's on the Jesuits in the lands of German speech began to see the light. Father Tacchi Venturi's introductory volume on the history of the order in Italy appeared only last year. Portugal and Poland are yet to be heard from, and there is room for many a further volume on the Jesuits in lands non-Catholic or extra-European.

But the series, though planned by the order, has no common editor or publisher; and it would not be easy to conceive a wider divergence in form than between the sumptuously illustrated pages of Father Duhr and the present sober-faced volume, sans picture, chart, or facsimile. Alas, the divergence is as great in scholarly spirit; and for once the pictorial work is not the crude one. Father Fouqueray was, indeed, not the scholar originally chosen for this task. Father Victor Mercier, who in 1895 took it in hand, was snatched away by death, and the responsibilities of authorship fell on shoulders fitted only, perhaps, for those of lieutenancy. But for the wealth of its sources, the work might rather have been written in the sixteenth century than in the twentieth. The order and its heroes are impeccable. The Devil in person is their constant antagonist. Heaven as constantly intervenes by miracle for their protection or their glory. To Father Fouqueray, indeed, this is so natural that he sees in it, like his Father Possevin when miraculously rescued from the Huguenots at Lyons, only "a delicate attention of Providence". So avid of miracle is he, forsooth, for his needlessly detailed account of the founder of his order that, not content with the

extremest version of the marvels recounted by contemporaries—the three-day walk of Ignatius barefoot from Paris to Rouen, tasting neither food nor drink, yet arriving unwearied and unfamished, or his plunging himself to the neck in a wintry stream, prepared to remain there for hours if a sinning friend persist in his self-indulgence—he has stomach for even the tale (known only to Bartoli, a century later, and long rejected by the official hagiographers of the order) of the saint's visit to a learned but worldly theologian whom he finds playing at billiards. The savant invites him to a game; and the saint, protesting that he has no money for a stake and that there is no fun in playing without one, proposes that the loser shall for a month obey the winner—whereupon the saint of course wins and by prescribing his spiritual exercises turns the scholar to a religious life. If one might guess that in his pre-saintly days Loyola had known the game and excelled in it—and to the mere lay historian, remembering the long popularity of the game and the gay early life of the saint, no guess could seem more warranted—the story would be neither incredible nor discreditable. But to Father Fouqueray no such profane suspicion occurs: Ignatius “had never played at billiards”, yet won “without difficulty”—nor does it trouble the good father that the exploit, if saved by the saint's faith from being reckless gambling, was perilously like those appeals to the “judgment of God” which the Church had so long proscribed.

Of the heretics, on the other hand, no scandal is beyond his belief. Calvin is a charlatan who can bribe a poor man to feign death that he may claim a miracle by bringing him to life; Beza a libertine who marries a tailor's wife; Jeanne d'Albret an unscrupulous persecutor. Yet, despite its credulity and bigotry, the book is a product of industrious research and will serve many a useful purpose. The central episode of the present volume is the long struggle of the Jesuits at Paris with their implacable foes, the University and the Parlement; but the provincial colleges too come in for ample treatment. Except in connection with the Colloquy of Poissy, the political background of the religious story is made less clear than could be wished. A tardy final chapter on “the Company during the civil troubles” makes scant amends. Sixteen pages of documents close the volume.

While the Jesuits are themselves thus industriously using the fresh materials for their history, they are not wholly forgotten by outsiders. In 1904 there appeared in the well-known Leipzig series of the Teubners, *Aus Natur und Geisteswelt*, a compact little volume, *Die Jesuiten*, from the pen of one of the liveliest of the younger Lutheran students of church history, Professor Heinrich Boehmer, of Bonn. So eager was its reception and so ready its author to profit by the new material for its revision that already in 1907 it was issued again, corrected and enlarged. It is this revised second edition which the eminent editor of the *Revue Historique* now gives to the world in a French translation, with an introduction and notes of his own. The little work is not

unworthy of so high an honor. While naturally it has not wholly satisfied its Jesuit critics, and while even in its revised form they point out some serious slips, they have been frank to recognize its honesty of intent and the critical industry with which the author has brushed away many an ancient calumny. By no means blind to Jesuit faults or to Jesuit blunders, he is open-eyed as well to their virtues and their great achievements. It is this fairness of spirit, so rare toward them in friend or foe, and the unusual clearness with which the book depicts the vicissitudes which have wrought such changes in the order, that lead the great French scholar to its translation. What M. Monod himself adds, in his introduction of some eighty pages, is (1) a critical glance at the earlier writers on the Jesuits, (2) a study of the place of the order in the history of the Reformation, (3) an elucidation of certain obscure points in its career (the Malabar and Chinese rites, the casuistry and ethics of the Jesuits, their polity and the *Moynia Secreta*), and (4) a general estimate of their historical significance. The frontispiece is an excellent portrait of Loyola, after the painting by Sanchez Coello. Gratifying and useful as is the little volume, there is room for a doubt whether even its conscientious authors have been able wholly to divest their minds of prejudice. Surely not even they have always adequately remembered how, like every order or church cursed with worldly success, or like that contradiction in terms, a "permanent party", the Jesuits, despite all their care in selecting and skill in directing, came speedily to be a petty world, in which character and temper, conviction and aim, went scarcely less asunder than in the world outside.

GEORGE L. BURR.

Geschichte der Päpste seit dem Ausgang des Mittelalters. Von LUDWIG VON PASTOR. Fünfter Band. *Paul III. (1534-1549)*. (Freiburg i. B.: Herder. 1909. Pp. xlv, 891.)

LUDWIG VON PASTOR has given us no more satisfying volume than this. The Lutheran heresy falls now into the background, and the rising glory of the Catholic Reformation casts a lustre on even the worldly figure of Pope Paul the Third.

Not that his historian fails frankly to reveal his faults. That what first made his fortune in the Church was the passion of Pope Alexander VI. for his sister, the fair Julia—that he was himself the father of four illegitimate children—that the mother of two of them was till 1513 (when, at forty-five, though twenty years a cardinal, he was not yet a priest) an inmate of his house—that to the end his nepotism was unblushing and fraught with evil for the Church—all this is relentlessly laid bare. But all this, thinks his biographer, was what was to be expected from a true son of the Renaissance, the pupil of Pomponio Leto, the ward of Lorenzo de' Medici, the favorite of Rodrigo de Borgia. What distinguished Alessandro Farnese was his power to share as well the impulses of a younger and a better day. "A man of the Catholic

Reformation, indeed, in the full sense of the word, Paul III. by no means became—old and new in him were forever in conflict”; but he came into touch with it, and his pontificate was the transition to another age. If his defects were great, great too were his qualities. “Penetrating insight, refinement of culture, great diplomatic cleverness, not even his foes could deny him.” Broken though he seemed by age and by illness, “there dwelt in the frail body a mighty spirit and an iron will.” “They who approached Paul III. received at first the impression of an old, weary, and worn-out man, who spoke slowly, very cautiously, with much circumlocution. Only the lively color in his face and the small, sparkling eyes, which attracted everybody’s notice, betrayed the passionate temper of the old man, who had himself wonderfully in hand.” “Paul III.’s prudent waiting and cautious delaying with every decision sprang not, as with Clement VII., from lack of courage, but from shrewd calculation: he would remain master of the situation and seize the opportune moment. When that arrived, he acted with a swiftness which surprised even those who were nearest him.”

That the pope paltered with the religious reform, Pastor will not admit. Even the endless postponements of the council he lays to the charge of the emperor, and yet more to that of Francis of France. For the sincerity of Francis he has no good word, and but scant respect for Charles’s wisdom. Especially does he blame Charles for the religious colloquies and their outcome. Thirty years ago Dr. Pastor began his career as a scholar by a book on these *Reunionsbestrebungen*, and nothing could better attest the liveness of his scholarship than the fresh light he can now throw upon them. Contarini is still his hero; but he is no blind worshiper. Peacemakers, he admits, are prone to an optimism which overlooks or underrates the difficulties of the world of reality. Yet, though Contarini failed to detect the heresy lurking even in his own formulation of the Lutheran theory of justification, he was ever a true Catholic: did he not declare to a friend that “without the authority of the Church he would accept not only no questionable article, but not even the Gospel of St. John?” “This firm will to believe what the Church teaches, to subject the private judgment to the Church’s authority, this it is which makes the Catholic a true son of his Church.”

Of such sort is Herr Pastor’s own churchmanship. Not even the revivifying of the Roman Inquisition by Pope Paul at the instance of Carafa and Loyola stirs him to protest. What does disturb his equanimity is that even to so friendly a historian the archives of that dread Congregation are still hopelessly closed. Without them, he declares, it is impossible even approximately to sketch the Inquisition’s activity or to determine what measure of truth lay in the contemporary verdict of Cardinal Seripando that in the beginning this tribunal was temperate and mild, as answered to the nature of Paul III., but later, as it grew more powerful, and thanks, above all, to the inhuman severity of Carafa, gained the repute that nowhere upon earth were decisions more frightful and terrible.

Yet what alone gives warmth and color to the historian's pen is the story of the Catholic Reformation. To it he brings a wealth of fresh material, and mainly from unpublished sources. Even for the rise of the Jesuits he uses not only the flood of information which the order itself has just been putting into print in its *Monumenta* and its provincial histories, but contributes much of his own. On the less orthodox Italian reformers, too, he throws much valuable light—notably on the career of Ochino, whose apostasy he counts “the event which forms the real crisis in the history of the Catholic reform movement in Italy”. But was not that “Agostino Piemontese” (the “Augustinus Pedemontanus” of Polanco and Orlandini) who dared in 1538 to preach crypto-Protestantism even in Rome itself the well-known Piedmontese Augustinian, Mainardi, who in 1539 found in Chiavenna a safer and more lasting pulpit?

GEORGE L. BURR.

The Strength of England: a Politico-Economic History of England from Saxon Times to the Reign of Charles the First. By J. W. WELSFORD, M.A. With a preface by W. CUNNINGHAM, D.D., F.B.A. (London and New York: Longmans, Green, and Company. 1910. Pp. xviii, 362.)

THIS work is described in its subtitle as *A Politico-Economic History of England from Saxon Times to the Reign of Charles the First*. It is also designated in a preface by Professor Cunningham as an “essay”. As such it should be considered. It is not a history in the usual sense of the word. It makes no contribution of new knowledge to the subject, nor does it undertake to state the familiar facts of English history either in a pleasing arrangement for literary purposes, or in a brief form to be used as a text-book. Nor indeed does it profess to give a well-balanced statement of the most recent knowledge of English history in all its aspects. It is rather a rapid résumé of the subject, laying stress on foreign relations, political and commercial, and giving such an explanation of them as will show the desirability of a policy of protection to native industry and commerce.

If this ideal is accepted the book can be praised as having been done with much sincerity, intelligence, and information. The author has evidently read quite widely and thought independently. He has emancipated himself from merely traditional statements and explanations. As a result one is constantly struck in reading his book with his new ideas, bold suggestions, and original interpretations. A student of English history is frequently forced to reconsider some of his familiar views. Moreover, if all the statements and explanations in this book are true the author makes out a good historical argument for protection. As a matter of fact one gets somewhat tired of the economic explanation. The English Reformation was economic rather than religious; the disso-

lution of the monasteries and the execution of Charles I. were both largely due to the decline in the value of the precious metals; "Spain neglected her workers and thus lost her freedom and colossal strength, whilst by pursuing an opposite policy England became both strong and free"; it was due to Elizabeth's protective system that she could restore the coinage, maintain the navy, subsidize French and Dutch Protestants, and defeat the Armada.

One has a haunting feeling that a writer equally convinced of the desirability of a policy of freedom of trade could write an equally good history of England, and prove his point just as clearly. For after all this is not very good history. The light way in which the author uses the expression "thousands of years", as applied to the use of certain trade-routes, to the period which intervened between the Greek and the Arthurian legends, and to the age of Constantinople, his references to the "many thousands" of men who were put to death for witchcraft in England and as many in Scotland, are typical instances of a certain recklessness of statement which lies at the opposite pole of thought from the moderation and caution of the real historical student. Consequently one is not surprised to find it stated that Spain and Portugal controlled access to the eastern trade-routes in the twelfth century, that Becket opposed the constitutions of Clarendon because they were hard on the serfs, that the power of the papacy increased and declined in proportion to the income it was able to draw from the prospering or decaying monasteries of Europe, that the Third Estate in France was a democratic body, that the pope drew a larger revenue from England than the king, all of which statements are demonstrably untrue.

Such misconceptions make one doubtful of other generalizations which can hardly be disproved but which one may hesitate to accept in the absence of positive proofs. Such are Mr. Welsford's theory that English medieval liberty was saved by the policy of protection of their home trade pursued by London and other towns, that the wars of the Roses were the result of different economic policies followed by Yorkists and Lancastrians and many others. The author defends the policy of the Stuart kings, and has small sympathy for the Puritans and parliamentarians who were so factiously opposing them. It is a matter of regret that Mr. Welsford's death occurred before his history had come further down in time than the middle years of the seventeenth century. Nevertheless, historical work must be much more rigorously done than this before it can be used to teach one doctrine or another of practical statesmanship, and before it will satisfy both the historian and the economist.

E. P. CHEYNEY.

The Last Years of the Protectorate, 1656-1658. By CHARLES HARDING FIRTH, M.A., Regius Professor of Modern History in the University of Oxford. Volume I., 1656-1657; Volume II., 1657-1658. (London and New York: Longmans, Green, and Company. 1909. Pp. xx, 341; xii, 341.)

NEARLY all the more obvious things have been said about Professor Firth's book in the numerous reviews which have been written about it thus far. The death of Professor Gardiner before the completion of his work, the passing on of his notes and advice to Professor Firth, the latter's unusual fitness and ability to continue the task, his numerous contributions to our knowledge of the field, and, above all, the extraordinary fidelity with which not merely the method but the style of Professor Gardiner are reproduced, so that it is difficult to tell where one leaves off and the other begins—these points have been dwelt upon by successive reviewers many times. It seems scarcely necessary to enlarge upon them here. One thing alone is lacking in the reviews so far, any real critical examination of the book itself, especially of the facts and conclusions it records. Nor is it, indeed, probable that we shall have such, for two excellent reasons. The first is that the work has been done with so much care, its statements so carefully made, verified, and fortified by research and indication of authority. It is, in fact, such a model of method in its way that no reviewer is likely to detect errors if such exist, and it is not probable that the severest analysis would find any of importance. The second reason for the lack of more serious criticism has been well expressed by Mr. Frederic Harrison, who has himself reviewed the book. "No living scholar", he says, "has the rare special knowledge acquired by a long devotion to the study of this period which would justify him in attempting to pass any critical judgment on Mr. Firth's new work." This is a strong statement. Yet, apart perhaps from students of special phases of the same period, it is undoubtedly true. This being so, such reviews would seem works of supererogation were it not for two things. One is that it seems desirable to point out just what has been done and how the author has done it, the other what, if anything, remains undone. And even this latter, Professor Firth has himself in large measure forestalled by his promise "to continue this narrative down to the Restoration of Charles II., and to treat more fully in the next installment the social and economic condition of England during the rule of Cromwell and his son".

It is an old saying now that "it is ill gleaning after Gardiner", and some, no doubt, have been deterred from entering the same field by fear of his great name, feeling that the material has been exhausted. Professor Firth was, fortunately, not so deterred, and his contributions to our knowledge of the period have at once enlarged and supplemented the work of the greatest modern English historical scholar in ways which must bring encouragement to many timid souls who have felt the

fields of possible research narrowing on every hand. And that even his work has not exhausted the possibilities of more intensive culture has been demonstrated by at least one young American scholar who is finding very considerable sheaves in following Gardiner and Firth alike. This then seems one of the lessons taught by these two volumes. There have doubtless been some scores if not hundreds of lives of Cromwell written. A steady and not inconsiderable stream of monographs on every phase of the Commonwealth and Protectorate pours forth year after year, whose volume and value is well defined in the preface to the present book. New material is even now just coming to light in places as widely separated as Dublin and Auckland. So it is not probable that for the considerable future we shall be able to say of this much studied period, "this is the end." Upon this material Professor Firth has drawn, much of it he has himself discovered, and his work is therefore not merely a contribution in itself but in so far as is possible forms a definitive statement of the knowledge we now have of the period. Nor is it probable that however great an addition to detail may be made, the general outlines of fact and opinion will advance much beyond those here set down. For the most striking thing about this book is that, with all its additions to our knowledge, there are no striking reversals of judgment in its pages. What then do they contain and what is their chief value? Chiefly this, they tell with entire simplicity, clearness, and impartiality the story of the last two years of Cromwell's life, from September, 1656, to September, 1658, of his government of England and his policy and of English activities beyond the seas. "One feature", wrote Gardiner more than twenty years ago, "is common to all revolutions, that the nation in which they appear is content, perhaps after years of agitation, with just so much change as is sufficient to modify or abolish the institution which, so to speak, rankles in the flesh of the body politic. In the French Revolution the existence of privileged classes was the evil. . . . In the English Revolution it was of the essence of the movement that the authority of the King should be restricted." The greater part of the long period covered by him were the "years of agitation". With these new volumes we come distinctly to the backward swing of the pendulum. Their first chapter is devoted to the meeting of Cromwell's second Parliament, "the turning point in the history of the Protectorate". More and more the sense of unity increases, a unity centring in Cromwell. Foreign policy and war, financial difficulties, administrative perplexities, royalist plots, bring us to the same point, the failure of the dominant party to find constitutional basis for their power short of monarchy, the offer of the crown to Cromwell. Only his death prevented its acceptance, in Professor Firth's opinion, and on the basis of the facts here adduced one must agree with him. If the new force was to maintain itself it must take on the form of the old. For an estimate of the Protector we look in vain. The sole comment rests in the concluding quotation regarding Richard's succession,

the speech of Henry IV. to his son:

“To thee it shall descend with better quiet,
Better opinion, better confirmation,
For all the soil of the achievement goes
With me into the earth.”

And if with all its excellence one feels that politics and war play too great a part, if one desires something more of England rather than its policy and arms, something of the spirit and matter which went to make such a book as Inderwick's *Interregnum*, there are still two things to be considered. The one is that in no small measure Cromwell was England personified for the time, the other that we are promised something more hereafter. From the reading of this book, in many ways the most remarkable historical and, if history still be literature, literary event of the day, we look forward with lively anticipation to the conclusion when England, left between an organization without a leader and a leader without an organization, turned again to the old order infused with as much of the new spirit as could breathe the heavier air of the Restoration.

W. C. ABBOTT.

The Political History of England. Edited by WILLIAM HUNT, D.Litt., and REGINALD L. POOLE, M.A., LL.D. Volume VIII. *The History of England from the Restoration to the Death of William III. (1660-1702).* By RICHARD LODGE, M.A., LL.D., Professor of History in the University of Edinburgh. (London and New York: Longmans, Green, and Company. 1910. Pp. xix, 517.)

WITH the appearance of Professor Lodge's volume the co-operative *Political History of England* under the joint editorship of Mr. Hunt and Mr. Poole approaches completion. Necessarily somewhat unequal in style and even in value, the series has on the whole preserved a rather remarkable unity and high standard. Its criterion, emphasized from volume to volume by the editorial introduction, has in most cases been at least closely approximated, in some attained. “The History of which this volume is an instalment”, says this declaration of principles, “is an attempt to set forth in a readable form the results at present attained by research.” It “will primarily deal with politics . . . but as the life of a nation is complex and its condition at any given time cannot be understood without taking into account the various forces acting upon it, notices of religious matters and of intellectual, social and economic progress will also find place in these volumes”. This last provision, one may observe in passing, is satisfied in the present volume by the inclusion of a final chapter, Literature and Science, of twenty-four pages out of 476, summarizing cursorily the principal achievements of these two forms of intellectual manifestation. To some it will doubtless appear rather in the light of an inadequate postscript than as an integral

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part of the book itself. It is, at any rate, inferior to the body of the narrative in several respects. For the "readable form" of that narrative is distinctly clear and well-ordered. Such adjectives naturally suggest themselves as the just and obvious characterization of the style. But when we apply the further tests of the editorial introduction, in particular that relating to "the results at present attained by research", we find ourselves on more unstable ground. For with all the good points of Professor Lodge's work, and they are many, it will not, throughout, stand this test. The older authorities he has read and used with care, but, to take the first ten pages for example, the only authority beside Clarendon, Burnet, Welwood, and Clarke's *James II.* which he quotes is Lady Fanshawe and that on a minor point—the crowds which greeted Charles between Dover and London. This, it may be said, is scarcely a fair test. Yet the more one studies the bibliographical apparatus and considers the views expressed in the text in the light of the bibliography given, the more he must feel, in spite of the obvious merits of the book, a certain lack of "the results at present attained by research". Let us take two or three instances. It is true, of course, that Bagwell's *Ireland under the Stuarts* reaches only to 1660. But up to that point it certainly invalidates the assertion that "an authoritative and impartial history of Ireland in the seventeenth century is still to be written." The omission of such a book as Bonn's *Englische Kolonisation in Irland* is scarcely to be expected. The appearance of a long series of biographies of Restoration worthies in recent years finds scant recognition here. They are, indeed, of widely varying value but each contains some excellent material. Thus Lady Burghclere's *Buckingham*, Willcock's *Scots Earl* (the ninth Earl of Argyll), Lang's *Mackenzie*, Fea's *King Monmouth*, to note a few among many, are conspicuous by their absence. Among monographs and articles in the periodicals those in the English and Scottish historical reviews have by no means been exhausted and such studies as Bate's *Declaration of Indulgence* and Williams's *History of English Journalism to 1666* find no mention. Curiously enough also neither Lister's *Clarendon* nor Duckett's *Penal Laws and Test Act*, among others, are noted. Such omissions may have much to do with the expression of certain views in the text from which many will distinctly dissent. It is possible to mention but a few here. "In spite of his long absence Hyde had never lost his firm grasp of the essential conditions of English life", says Professor Lodge (p. 5). If politics is to be considered part of that life one may observe that had he learned the lessons writ large on its pages between 1640 and 1660 his policies and fate might very well have been quite different. That apart from a few executions the leaders of the fallen party were "spared", omits the essential fact that nearly all of them who did not enter royal service died in prison or exile, and casts the traditional but far too favorable light on the merciful nature of the Restoration (pp. 8-9). To say that the so-called Pres-

byterian party was so "short-sighted" as to "abstain" from exacting pledges as the price of its aid, is to ignore entirely the threats of Monk in the first debate and the later history of the Convention, the Royalists, and the king (p. 13). Space permits but few more observations. Regarding the Popish Plot (p. 151) our present knowledge does not warrant the statement that Danby could find nothing to corroborate Oates's informations. It may be true but we do not know what he found or knew. If we did it would help us greatly.

But to come to greater matters. We have here presented clearly and ably what may, in general, be called the traditional Restoration corrected here and there by some later investigations. Yet one must seriously dissent from some of the larger views, among them, the opinion of the Clarendonian and Cabal administrations and the conception of the Parliamentary situation in 1676-1678. And it is even more difficult to accept the unselfish generosity and sympathy of Louis XIV. as a completely satisfactory explanation of his reception of James II. and his recognition of James III. That, indeed, is a view which has had much vogue since the days of Macaulay. But surely the French king who had so long enjoyed the advantage of an England divided against itself by the divergent views of crown and Parliament, who had bribed the one and attempted to bribe the other, was scarcely likely to be blind to the advantage of an England divided by schism or even war between Jacobite and Whig. This supposition surely does an injustice to the shrewdest diplomatic intelligence of the day—save one. And we are not willing to sacrifice Louis XIV.'s head even to his heart. One must regret that present limitations forbid further consideration of this interesting book which, whatever its faults, offers the most complete study of the Restoration since Lingard.

W. C. ABBOTT.

George I. and the Great Northern War: a Study of British-Hanoverian Policy in the North of Europe in the Years 1709 to 1721. By JAMES FREDERICK CHANCE, M.A., F. R. Hist. S. (London: Smith, Elder, and Company. 1909. Pp. xviii, 516.)

THE purpose and results of this study are stated in one of the concluding paragraphs: "Reviewing the policy of George I. in the north, we see in the years 1709 to 1721 three successive phases of it; indecision, war with Sweden, and approximation to war with Russia. In the second phase George was successful, gaining for Hanover the valuable acquisition of Bremen and Verden, though the gain was discounted by the concomitant aggrandisement of Prussia and the transference of the ducal Sleswick to Denmark. In the third he suffered dire defeat. How far his policy, as elector, was damaging to British interests is a question which has been referred to; it has been debated for nearly two centuries and will probably never be agreed upon. The chief consideration is, how far it caused the hostility with Russia. If George had

sided with Charles XII. instead of with his enemies, Charles might, perhaps, have recovered his dominions in the east, and then there would have been no Russian mastery of the Baltic to fear. But to do so, as we have seen, was not possible, principally in consequence of the perversity of Charles himself. After his accession George's policy was not at all inspired from Hanover, his British governments supported it as in the interests of Great Britain. Townshend, Stair, Carteret, Whitworth were not inspired by affection for Hanover; in the last years they were strong in opposition to the policy of Bernstorff. Jealousy of the rise of Russia was natural on the part of Great Britain and inevitable." King George's methods in diplomacy Mr. Chance characterizes as selfish and tortuous, "but if not straightforward he was strong, and he restored to Great Britain the foremost place in Europe".

The specific problem of Hanoverian influence on English diplomacy in these years is answered, it seems to me, in favor of the coincidence of English commercial interests in the north, and especially in the Baltic, with the plans of George in behalf of his electorate. When they clashed it was the Hanoverian ministry who retired and not Stanhope (*cf.* p. 317).

Had Mr. Chance more thoroughly mastered his material, the significance of these years in the shaping of English policy in the Mediterranean and in the Baltic would have been clearer to his readers at least. It is only when these dominating centres of interest are kept in mind that British policy and British administrative organization become clear. The Secretary of State for the Northern Department is, in a large sense, a secretary for the Baltic, and the Southern Secretary a secretary for the Mediterranean. The shifting alliances of this infinitely confused period, England's drifting away from Austria, her rivalries with Sweden, Spain, and Russia, her approach to Prussia, France, and again to Sweden, attain, from this standpoint, a significance and coherence that is profounder than dynastic interests and Hanoverian influence can ever explain. Incidentally, this absorption of the ministries of George I. in the Mediterranean and the Baltic might suggest to American colonial historians the thesis that England may have suffered later from a sin which we have always considered purely French, the neglect of her colonial interests for what Mr. Chance considers the great service of George I., the restoration of Great Britain to the foremost place in Europe.

The essence of Mr. Chance's work has already been made available in his chapter in the *Cambridge Modern History*, VI., and in the essays in the *English Historical Review*. In this volume he has filled five hundred pages with unsifted and undigested archival material, two-thirds of which might better have gone into the foot-notes or into appendixes. The result is an exceedingly clumsy and amateurish work which is only made usable by an exceptionally good index.

GUY STANTON FORD.

Histoire de France depuis les Origines jusqu'à la Révolution, publiée sous la direction de M. ERNEST LAVISSE. Tome VIII., Partie II. *Le Règne de Louis XV. (1715-1774)*. Par H. CARRÉ, Professeur à l'Université de Poitiers. (Paris: Hachette et Cie. 1909. Pp. 428.)

ALTHOUGH this volume brings the history of France to within fifteen years of the Revolution, it cannot be relied upon for a general description of the "old régime". What is said about social conditions is introduced incidentally in accounts of the controversies over the *vingtièmes* or in explanation of the results of the propaganda of the economists and the physiocrats. Part of the reason for the lack of such descriptions is found in the fact that the preceding volume contained nearly a hundred pages on the subject, and M. Carré has apparently considered it enough if he notes the changes in the situation, especially those which came in the second half of the century. The main interests which the volume serves, however, are of the same order. Diplomacy and war occupy less than a quarter of its pages. The matters treated with fullness are questions of administration and finance, and the intellectual progress of the country, illustrated particularly in the work of Voltaire, Montesquieu, the Encyclopedists, and the economists.

If it be asked, is there any single impression left by the reading of this volume which suggests the secret of the fatal inability of the French government to apply in time a remedy to its menacing ills, the answer may be the blight which the presence on the throne of such a man as Louis XV. seemed to cast upon the abilities of really able administrators. France was not perishing for the lack of either wisdom or warnings. The ominous want was a king, who, if not great himself, would furnish the necessary element of unity and continuity. Moreover, it was futile to expect disinterested devotion to become a common trait among the ministers of such a monarch. Even the Abbé Terray proposed to reform the conditions of the contract of the "farm" by abolishing the *croupes*, but he discovered that Louis XV. figured in person for a quarter of the venture of one "farmer", and Mme. du Barry for 20,000 livres in that of another. There was a demand that Terray suppress the *acquits de comptant*, and M. Carré thinks this reform might have made possible the establishment of an equilibrium between receipts and expenditures, but the change was out of the question, because in that case the king could no longer dip into the treasury at discretion and would have been obliged to justify his expenditures. This was the time when Mme. du Barry, "jeune, fraîche, amusante à son perpétuel ennui, ni tracassière, ni ambitieuse", was receiving 300,000 livres a month.

It was the king who was responsible for the failure of the projects to distribute more fairly the burdens of taxation, and so, eventually, to increase the revenue. Machault attempted in 1750 to collect the *vingtièmes* from the clergy, but when he was making some progress in

the difficult enterprise, Louis was seized with a crisis of pious emotion. "Le bruit courut que Mme. de Pompadour allait être disgraciée. Il n'en fut rien; mais le Roi renonça à soumettre le Clergé à l'impôt." When it was not the mistresses, it was the royal nonchalance, the ennui, the feebleness of will, which made firmness and continuity of policy impossible. The king did not lack perspicacity, and he saw the danger in the extravagant claims of the parlements. On one occasion he said, "Ils finiront par perdre l'État", and when someone interrupted him with the remark that the judges were merely "petits robins", Louis replied, "Vous ne savez pas ce qu' ils font et ce qu' ils pensent; c'est une assemblée de républicains. En voilà, au reste, assez: les choses, comme elles sont, dureront autant que moi."

Next in interest is M. Carré's treatment of that phase of the intellectual history of the reign which bore directly upon the prospects of reform. He traces with unusual clearness the influence of England upon Voltaire, Montesquieu, and others in the earlier years of the movement. He mentions the efforts of refugees in England and Holland, through the publication of the translations of British works. In France the abbé prévost published, from 1733 to 1740, a sort of encyclopedic review, *Le Pour et Contre*, in which he presented translations of English philosophical works and even the novels of Richardson.

M. Carré's treatment of financial and economic questions is especially clear. His account of the "system" of John Law is the most complete and exact description, within anything like the same compass, of this strange venture in high finance. Another equally satisfying explanation of an interesting movement concerns the influence upon the administration of the ideas of *laissez faire* touching industrial methods. There are intimations that the success of the principle was not unqualified. In regard to the rural population M. Carré thinks that while the conditions in the later years of Fleury's administration were wretched, there was a distinct improvement in the third quarter of the century. He quotes some apparently decisive evidence from the work of the economist Moheau, entitled *Recherches et Considérations sur la Population de la France*, which appeared in 1774.

M. Carré seems unusually successful in his portraits of the principal personages of the time. Upon them all, beginning with Dubois and ending with Terray, he has furnished the sort of information which substitutes men for the vague impersonations of abstract qualities, frequently of vices, which have worn certain of these names.

HENRY E. BOURNE.

Henry Stuart, Cardinal of York, and his Times. By ALICE SHIELD, with an introduction by ANDREW LANG. (London and New York: Longmans, Green, and Company. 1908. Pp. xvi, 353.)

THERE may be some readers, "ravish'd with the whistling of a name", whose interest in the last inglorious years of the banished

Stuarts is perennial and insatiable. Since the turn of the century at least half a dozen works have appeared for their delectation. Two aspects of the subject are of fundamental historical importance, Jacobitism as a factor in English party politics, and the attitude of the Continental powers toward the exiled dynasty as an element in the European diplomacy of the period. The latter was well discussed by Mr. F. W. Head in his excellent monograph on *The Fallen Stuarts* which appeared in 1901. Then there is the ever-romantic episode of 1745 in which the Young Pretender appeared for a brief episode as a hero. For the rest the story of the whole family is jejune and unedifying.

James, the Old Pretender, had some reputable qualities; but he was ever incapable of awakening any enthusiasm, his domestic relations were clouded by constant bickerings, he grew to be gloomy and irritable, increasingly greedy of preferment for his oldest son. Charles, his health and spirits broken by drink and misfortune, dragged on an aimless existence lighted by a steadily waning hope. He was brutal to his mistress and to his perhaps none too deserving wife. Henry by accepting a cardinal's hat killed the chances of a line already moribund. Yet only in this way did it seem possible to secure resources so sorely needed. In many ways he seems the best of the later Stuarts. Of very ordinary capacity, pompous and obstinate, he led a blameless life and performed his ecclesiastical duties conscientiously. His lavish expenditures can be justified by his charities and his interest in art. We like to think of him working at music with Browning's Galuppi.

Yet when Mr. H. M. Vaughan's *The Last of the Royal Stuarts* appeared three years ago it was queried whether the cardinal was worth a whole book. If there was hardly an excuse for one there seems much less for two, though Miss Shield has made some contributions in matters of detail. In her attempt, however, to give us the man in the setting of the times she has repeated much that is well known already.

To some statements of fact and opinion the reviewer takes exception. Page ix, Mr. Lang remarks that it was on religious grounds that the barons became allies of England. Miss Shield does scant justice to Lord George Murray, the "soul of the undertaking in 1745", and does not seem to realize how hopeless it would have been to attempt to march from Derby to London (p. 84). The dismissal of Bolingbroke is justified, when the Duke of Berwick, James's own half-brother, regarded it as inexcusable folly, and certainly (p. 257) William III. was not the promoter of the Darien Scheme. Quiberon was fought in November not in October (p. 171), and Clementina Walkinshaw's pension was 6000 lire, not £6000. The appendix on the so-called "legitimist" line is interesting, especially in view of the fact that two of the sons of Robert II. were born out of wedlock and that the present Mary IV. is the granddaughter of the marriage of an uncle and niece. Parts of the book are well written, though the titles of the chapters are over-ornate, while colloquialisms are all too frequent; for example, "under-

stood human nature down to the ground" (p. 22), "showed him up" (p. 62), and "nothing doing" (p. 71). As to externals the volume is very attractive.

ARTHUR LYON CROSS.

Paris sous Napoléon. Tome VI. *Le Monde des Affaires et du Travail.* Par L. DE LANZAC DE LABORIE. (Paris: Plon-Nourrit et Cie. 1910. Pp. iv, 354.)

M. DE LANZAC DE LABORIE possesses what is perhaps the best preparation for an historian, a legal training. His earliest efforts at historical writing, a life of Mounier and a history of the French domination in Belgium, brought him the distinction of a prize award from the French Academy. In 1905 he began the publication of the excellent series of volumes, *Paris sous Napoléon*, of which this is the sixth. The earlier volumes, bearing the following titles: *Consulat Provisoire et Consulat à Temps*; *Administration, Grands Travaux*; *La Cour et la Ville, La Vie et la Mort*; *La Religion*; *Assistance et Bienfaisance, Approvisionnement*, have already been reviewed (see this journal, XIV. 127-131, 581-583). The second and third of these have been crowned by the French Academy. The encomiums bestowed by the previous reviewer are fully deserved by the new volume as well. The excellent scholarship and the admirable impartiality of the author are recognized in a commendatory review of the present volume by M. Aulard, whose personal opinions differ so radically from those of M. de Lanzac de Laborie.

In the preparation of the present volume liberal use has been made of the documents in the *Correspondance de Napoléon I^{er}*, and in Aulard's *Paris sous le Consulat*; of a wide range of monographs, notably of Levasseur's excellent *Histoire des Classes Ouvrières de 1789 à 1870*; of the standard works like Thiers; and of such novelties as Jaurès's *Histoire Socialiste*. The real value of the work, however, does not consist alone in garnering facts from other publications and rearranging them, but in the wealth of new material drawn from the Archives Nationales. Of special importance are the frequent citations from the letters and reports of Mollien, which completely refute the statements of his ideas and policies in his well-known *Mémoires d'un Ministre du Trésor Public*, written after he had been made a peer of France by Louis XVIII.

The first five chapters, which form four-fifths of the volume, deal with the commercial and financial conditions, while the other two treat of manufactures and of the laboring classes. The long opening chapter on commerce brings out the fundamental problems. With the exception of the few months in 1802-1803, following the treaty of Amiens, Paris was the capital of a nation engaged in war. Commerce, finance, manufacturing, and labor were therefore all subject to the conditions of war, to the evolutions of Napoleonic policy, and to the

constant extension of the territorial limits of the nation. Napoleon desired to make the nation economically independent and self-sufficing, and adopted in its fullest extent the protectionist and prohibitory policies which the French call "Colbertisme", but the conditions of the struggle with England drove him into the futile project of the Continental Blockade. With a magnificent disregard of the resulting hardships of the French people and the ruin of the moneyed interests Napoleon promised to destroy the trade and wealth of the hated "nation of shop-keepers" and to bestow upon Paris the primacy in the markets not only of France but of the world.

Napoleon sincerely sought to encourage French trade and manufactures, but he regulated industrial conditions with no desire to improve the lot of labor but simply to keep the laborer quietly employed. The men of the Bourse and those engaged in vast or petty enterprises which to him savored of speculation commanded neither his sympathy nor respect. Napoleon seems to have pushed through his vast imperialistic enterprises without a thought of their effect upon the moneyed classes. The rupture of the peace of Amiens, the campaign of 1805, and the beginning of the war of commercial decrees against England were factors in producing the financial crisis of 1805-1806, which ruined even Récamier. Victories brought little mitigation in the ensuing years. The reckless intervention in the Peninsula, the extension and rigor of the Continental Blockade, the inconsiderate sale of large amounts of confiscated contraband, and the rash extension of the empire during 1810 created a panic during the ensuing winter. While the number of business failures in Paris dwindled during the summer of 1811, yet there was never any real business revival during the remainder of the imperial epoch.

An excellent chapter of sixty pages recounts the foundation and early history of the Bank of France. The Tribunal of Commerce, the Chamber of Commerce, the Bourse, the public credit, money, weights and measures are among the other topics considered. The two chapters on industry and labor are the most interesting in the book. With a scholarly conservatism and impartiality, M. de Lanzac de Laborie consults the writings of M. Jaurès and his school without borrowing their notions.

Unfortunately there is scarcely a reference to conditions later than the summer of 1811, and it is to be hoped that in some future volume the cumulative effects of the *débâcle* upon Paris may be traced. The book will be welcomed by every student of the Napoleonic period as a perfect mine of information on the conditions back of the Continental Blockade, but, sad to say, there is no index to guide through the labyrinth.

GEORGE MATTHEW DUTCHER.

Gathorne Hardy, First Earl of Cranbrook; a Memoir, with Extracts from his Diary and Correspondence. In two volumes. Edited by the Hon. ALFRED E. GATHORNE-HARDY. (London and New York: Longmans, Green, and Company. 1910. Pp. xi, 381; vii, 408.)

GATHORNE HARDY was in Parliament from 1855 continuously until his death in 1906. For twenty-three years he was a member of the House of Commons, and after he became a peer in 1878 he sat for twenty-eight years in the House of Lords. Until the formation of the Salisbury ministry of 1895, when the Earl of Cranbrook was already eighty-one years of age, Gathorne Hardy held office whenever the Conservatives were in power from 1858. He was successively Under-Secretary for the Home Department, president of the Poor Law Board, Home Secretary, Secretary for War, Secretary for India, President of the Council, and Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster. He was closely associated with Disraeli during the whole time that Disraeli was Prime Minister, and although he entered Parliament twenty-three years later than Gladstone, he was only five years his junior, and he outlived Gladstone only by seven years. Gathorne Hardy was therefore the most prominent man in the Conservative party who was strictly contemporary with Gladstone and who was an active and recognized leader among the opponents of Gladstone during the whole of Gladstone's career as head of the Liberal party. Lives of Disraeli and of Lord Salisbury are yet to be written. Until they appear these two volumes, which have been compiled by his son from the diaries and correspondence of Gathorne Hardy, must rank as regards their value to the student of English history and politics alongside Morley's monumental *Life of Gladstone*. Gladstone and Gathorne Hardy sat on the front benches opposite to each other from 1858 to 1878, and during the whole of their political career they were opposed to each other on almost every question which came up in English politics. The only instance in which Gathorne Hardy seems to have felt a passing sympathy with Gladstone, or to have expressed any admiration of his course in politics, was in 1873 when Gladstone made a speech in defense of the rights and privileges of the Established Church on the motion of Miall, the chief advocate of disestablishment. On all points except on this, where Gladstone retained his early Tory instincts to a degree which forced him to antagonize his Nonconformist supporters, Gladstone and Gathorne Hardy were antipodal, not only in opinions and political principles but also in temperament. Hardy was eminently respectable, restrained, unemotional. He was a good, religious man, faithful and loving to his wife and family, charitable to the poor, and upright in all his dealings; but without one grain of enthusiasm, untouched by the democratic tendencies of the age, and entirely free from idealism or any touch of zeal or crankiness. Gladstone infused his intense con-

victions into every cause he took up. His emotion in politics was unintelligible and repellent to Gathorne Hardy, who writes in his diary again and again of Gladstone as "full of wrath and opposition", of his "explosions of passion and temper", his "white rage", his lack of conciliation, his "outbursts of virulence and folly". With temperaments and opinions so opposed, Gathorne Hardy and Gladstone in their lives present the opposite sides of the shield in every controversy in English politics during the latter half of the nineteenth century, and these volumes, however inferior to the masterly work of Morley in literary merit, will be received by the student with a welcome almost as eager as that accorded to the *Life of Gladstone* some seven years ago.

A. G. P.

The Kulturkampf: an Essay. By GORDON BOYCE THOMPSON, M.A., with a Prefatory Note by GEORGE M. WRONG, M.A., Professor of History in the University of Toronto. (Toronto: The Macmillan Company of Canada. 1909. Pp. vii, 141.)

CRITICISM is disarmed and the reviewer is compelled to sheath his scalpel by the circumstances attendant upon the preparation and the publication of this essay. As the brief prefatory note states, the author, a young man of twenty-three, had taken the degree of Bachelor of Arts in the University of Toronto in 1907, and had gone to Berlin in order that he might prepare a thesis for submission with a view to securing the degree of Master of Arts.

With no previous knowledge of German, the young man spent the winter of 1907-1908 in the imperial capital, mastering the language and gathering the material of which this little volume is the fruit. "Shortly after the essay was despatched to Canada for examination, its young author was seized with illness, and he died in Berlin on July 1, 1908." The book was prepared for the press by a friend in the Toronto faculty.

Disquieted, as were many of the leading statesmen of Europe, by the Dogma of Infallibility enacted by the Oecumenical Council of July 18, 1870, Bismarck saw in this attempt to restore the power of the pope a subtle attack on the newly organized German Empire. Both the attitude and the acts of Bismarck provoked a fear in the minds of numerous ecclesiastically minded Germans lest the Church might suffer in the general reorganization of Germany. This fear, fostered by many of the bishops, resulted in the return to the Reichstag of a group of men who were informed by the same spirit of loyalty to Church interests. At the outset, "there was no intention of building up an Ultramontane fraction in the House, although the idea of a Catholic party was by no means new." Out of this group, however, by the logic of events, the Clerical party finally emerged, and aligned itself strongly against Bismarck and all his works.

"Bismarck always insisted that the struggle, although waged against

the church, was not religious, but political." At all events, he regarded the formation of a confessional party as a direct challenge, and he met it by open war.

From the first movement in the long struggle, the abolition of the Catholic Section in the Department of Public Worship, through all the subsequent measures of repression—the "Falk Laws", the law abolishing Church grants, and the so-called "Cloister Laws"—Bismarck found himself confronted by a steadily growing "Centrum".

"The great mistake which the State made was in the choice of its weapons." The "Falk Laws" proved in practice quite incapable of accomplishing their ends. It was also a tactical error to concentrate opposition on the part of the Poles and Nationalists and to unite them with the whole body of German Catholics.

Seeing the weakness of drastic legislation and being relieved from the tension by the removal of Falk and the accession of Leo XIII., Bismarck began to prepare for peace. This was made the more imperative by a shifting of the attitude of Bismarck's allies in the Reichstag. One by one the harsh measures were rescinded, and ultimately Bismarck was forced to apply to his old enemies, the Clericals, for assistance in carrying out measures desired by the government. He had reached "Canossa".

In spite of unavoidable immaturity, the little book is well worth reading, and in view of the conditions under which it was written, it is a quite remarkable production.

Contemporary France. By GABRIEL HANOTAUX. Translated from the French by E. SPARVEL-BAYLY. Volume IV., 1877-1882. (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons; London: Archibald Constable and Company. 1909. Pp. xii, 658.)

IN his concluding volume M. Hanotau begins with the morrow of the dismissal of Jules Simon on May 16, 1877, and ends with the death of Gambetta, December 31, 1882. The latter event he regards as marking the close of "the heroic age" of the Third Republic. The correctness of the date may well be challenged. The term "heroic age" is appropriate for the period in which the Republicans were forced to struggle against tremendous obstacles to bring about the establishment of a genuinely Republican régime. But that period ended earlier than the death of Gambetta. It was over by the time the Republicans had gained control over all departments of the government. It certainly should not be made to include the time when miserable personal rivalries wrecked the long anticipated and much desired Gambetta administration. The mistake seems to have come because the author has been controlled by personal interest and literary canons rather than historical considerations. As in each of the preceding volumes, he has a hero, Gambetta in this instance, and he feels impelled to continue the story until the disappearance of his hero.

The narrative rests upon a considerable but not exceptionally large amount of research. The memoirs of Shuvalov and of Carathéodory Pacha upon the Congress of Berlin, those of M. de Courcel upon the affair of Tunis, and a few letters of General Le Flô constitute the unpublished materials utilized. Newspapers have been used but sparingly. The chief reliance has been upon official publications, the reviews, biographies, and especially memoirs. The use of memoirs has been too extensive and sometimes rather uncritical, little attempt being made to control them by strictly contemporaneous evidence.

In general the brilliant and substantial qualities of the earlier volumes have been fully maintained in this one. To the reviewer, perhaps because of high anticipations, the chief disappointments are the chapters upon the Congress of Berlin and the Gambetta ministry. The former, though containing many interesting details and much shrewd comment, adds nothing of importance to what was already known upon the subject. The latter fails to afford any more satisfactory replies than those we already had to the questions why Gambetta did not succeed in forming the grand ministry and why his administration was so speedily overthrown.

The rendering of the volume into English is badly done, despite a certain smoothness of style. Several usually reliable American reviewers who have commented upon it favorably must have neglected to examine the original. All of the defects noted in my review of the third volume (this journal XIII. 589) are here repeated, but in still greater measure. The English version is a condensation. It omits the preface, a majority of the citations and notes, and contains about 140 pages less than the original, the pages being of almost exactly the same size. In the first five-sixths of the book considerable condensation is secured by freely dropping out on almost every page a few words, clauses, or sentences which the translator appears to regard as superfluous. The last sixth has been reduced by over a half. The result is that the English version omits much which the reader ought to have and yet includes a good deal of unnecessary detail. More serious still is the mistaken or imperfect translation of the remainder. Downright mistakes may be found in great numbers, while vague and imperfect renderings of passages which are clear and definite in the original are still more numerous. The translator displays amazing lack of familiarity with French, English, and American political terms and practices. A flagrant but typical instance occurs on page 631 where Gambetta's proposition of January 14, 1882, for the partial revision of the constitutional laws is given. Having never understood the precise meaning of the term *sénateurs inamovibles*, he translates a caption as a proposition and makes Gambetta advocate the extension of a practice which he was seeking to abolish. This is done although his own translation of the next sentence ought to show him the impossibility of the thing. In the same document a proposal to abrogate the article in the constitutional

laws which provided for the offering of prayers for the Republic on certain occasions receives the following remarkable translation: "The powers of the Senate as to public petitions should be abridged."

FRANK MALOY ANDERSON.

A History of the Irish Parliamentary Party. By F. HUGH O'DONNELL, M.A., Q.U.I. Volume I. *Butt and Parnell: Nationhood and Anarchy. The Curse of the American Money.* Volume II. *Parnell and the Lieutenants, Complicity and Betrayal, with an Epilogue to the Present Day.* (London and New York: Longmans, Green, and Company. 1910. Pp. xv, 508; xi, 494.)

REVIEW by quotation is seldom desirable. Quotation is, however, far better than any attempt to describe Mr. O'Donnell's *History of the Irish Parliamentary Party*, or any attempt to criticize it or place it in its class. Two extracts will serve to illustrate the style and also the spirit of self-glorification in which Mr. O'Donnell has gone about his work, especially when he is concerned with the part he played while he was of the Home Rule group in the House of Commons from 1877 to 1885. Mr. O'Donnell was elected for Galway in 1874 and was unseated on petition. In January, 1877, he was elected for Dungarvan, and represented that constituency until the dissolution of the Parliament of 1880-1885. Parnell and Biggar were of the House of Commons and of the Nationalist group at Westminster when Mr. O'Donnell rejoined it early in 1877. Mr. O'Donnell claims both Parnell and Biggar as his "apprentices", and asserts that "neither the one nor the other at the outset could move an inch without my guidance, nor utter a criticism without my inspiration." This may be true or otherwise. Its truth is not material here; but what is material as showing the style and spirit and as indicating the usefulness of this history of the Irish Parliamentary party, is Mr. O'Donnell's description of his attitude towards his "apprentices".

"My apprentices felt", he writes, "that they could not even apply the lessons of the master without his personal presence and direction. They helped to quicken my appearance or return upon that scene where—as I had been the first to teach—the intervention of Irish members in English affairs could bring home the importance of Home Rule to every statesman in England. Why? They were neither kinsmen nor comrades of mine. There were a hundred Parliamentarians who were infinitely closer and nearer to them in every respect than I. Except in relation to his labors for my policy Mr. Biggar was a total stranger to me and I to him. I knew absolutely nothing and cared less about Mr. Parnell before I recruited the well-born malcontent for my views and for my views only. Outside of the furtherance of my policy it

was impossible for me even to have an enjoyable conversation with either of them or with both. Any patriotic ham and bacon merchant could discuss Greece and Rome, the French Salon and the British Academy, the Renaissance and the Revolution, the tragic muse of Dante or the voix d'or of Sarah Bernhardt, quite as delicately and as eruditely as the excellent Biggar; and Parnell's accomplishments were not one whit less than the solid tastes of Mr. Biggar. I lived on the contrary with the finest flower of the intellectuality of three capitals. . . . I was the colleague of dozens of the Catholic writers of France and Belgium. What on earth, outside of the policy, had I to do with an unlettered squireling and a rugged provincial tradesman?"

The second extract is concerned with Mr. O'Donnell's scheme for bringing Ireland and its affairs into prominence at Westminster—a scheme which he was discussing with Mr. Sheridan Knowles and Mr. Baker Greene, who in the early seventies were his colleagues on the editorial staff of the *Morning Post*. "But what of the Nationalist question which had opened the ball?", he writes. "The Westminster wisdom plucked up its collar and spake 'There is no longer a Nationalist question. We have saved Ireland.' Suddenly or gradually, all at once or bit by bit, the solution seemed to us quite clear. Surely a great confused Government and Constitution, like the English Government and Constitution, trying to take in and do for hundreds of millions of human beings about whom it knows nothing and cares less—*more hibernico* speaking; stodged with business it cannot perform; with a party system which turns out every ministry when it has had barely time to learn its A. B. C., with bills on the top of estimates and motions on the top of bills; with foreign affairs on the top of colonial affairs, and Irish affairs and Indian affairs and even Scottish affairs, all wanting to drive abreast through Temple Bar; with 700 M. P.s for the most part chosen by tossing up a halfpenny or something of that sort, and mostly following the whips in order to get invitations for their wives to ministerial tea-fights; surely that Academy of Laputa could be put out of joint if there was a man to try. So it was settled that I should be the man."

Scores of extracts in this style might be quoted. The two which have been given have been selected almost haphazard. Better than pages of description or criticism they indicate the nature of Mr. O'Donnell's two volumes—volumes which if taken as a serious contribution would compel the rewriting of almost all existing British contemporary political history.

E. P.

Fifty Years of New Japan (*Kaikoku Gojūnen Shi*). In two volumes. Compiled by Count SHIGÉNOBU ŌKUMA, late Prime Minister and Minister for Foreign Affairs. English version edited by MARCUS B. HUIISH. (New York: E. P. Dutton and Company. 1909. Pp. xi, 646; viii, 616.)

COUNT ŌKUMA's name is closely connected with almost every important phase of the modern activities of the Japanese nation—politics and diplomacy, finance and industry, social reforms, literature and journalism, and education. Through Waseda University, of which he is chancellor, and its allied schools, he exerts great influence on the life and thought of the nation; his recently published *National Reader* will serve to impress on the mind of the rising generation the historic character of the Japanese people and the need of their vigorous progress along the definite lines he indicates. Now in addition to his marvellous record of versatility, he establishes his distinction as a literary enterpriser by the successful compilation of this most comprehensive and authoritative work of its kind that has ever seen light.

This work has been compiled with a double purpose "to preserve an authentic account of the development of the Empire of Japan during the fifty years that have elapsed since the ratification of its first treaties with the outside world", and "to make the present condition of the country more widely known and understood, both at home and abroad". To this the count adds another underlying aim, namely, "to call the attention of the nation to the imperative need of striving for an even greater advance and higher development [than it has achieved in the past], by pointing out its manifold deficiencies". The work being thus intended for circulation both in Japan and in other countries, substantially the same contents have been published in Japanese, Chinese, and English editions.

The English edition contains fifty-six chapters by fifty-four of the best authorities on the subjects they discuss (of whom six have since died, and one, Prince Itō, has been assassinated). The translation having been done by many hands, it is not free from little departures from the original. The English editor has apparently done his utmost to make the language as uniform and as readable as possible, but his corrections, especially in the first important chapter, have, while probably improving the English, altered the meaning of the original in many places, substituting in some instances misleading expressions for the more accurate forms used in the first translation. His Chinese orthography follows the imperfect Wade system and makes it worse. Also his blue pencil has struck out, not only the repetitions inevitable in such a symposium, but also a few indispensable and vital paragraphs. For this state of things, Mr. Huish may not alone be responsible; nor are these errors frequent enough to detract much from the value of this important work.

The fifty-six chapters cover, with varying success, all the features of national life in the past fifty years. It would not be practicable in this limited space to comment even briefly on all of the chapters. Count Okuma's own summary of the history of Japan from its beginning to date (vol. I., ch. I.) shows, in a manner extremely suggestive and stimulating to the initiated student, how steadily throughout the ages a clarifying process of the national character has been going on, endowing the people with remarkable receptiveness and great power of assimilation. In his concluding chapter (vol. II., ch. xxix.), he further amplifies the argument, and proceeds to point out with frankness the weaknesses of his countrymen in their legal, intellectual, economic, and social usages, counselling ever more active intercourse with foreign countries and higher and nobler aspirations along the same lines that have marked the progress of Japan through the historic ages, namely, lines of open and judicious reception of foreign culture and its complete assimilation to her own decided national characteristics. He condemns the racial antipathies shown by some Occidentals toward the Japanese after their late war, and believes that no other nation can achieve with greater aptitude than the latter the task of working toward obliterating the differences between races and civilizations and establishing a world-wide co-operation within one large organic and sympathetic system of civilization. For, says he in conclusion, Japan "has already won a position that entitles it to represent the civilization of the Orient, and now the lot falls to it to introduce the civilization of the Occident to the Orient. . . . On her devolves the mission of harmonizing the civilizations of the East and West, so as to lead the world as a whole to a higher plane" (vol. II., p. 574).

Dr. Nitobe develops much the same theme in different language (vol. II., ch. xxiv.), in so far as the modern life of Japan is concerned. Indeed, all the other chapters may be regarded as unconscious demonstrations of many of the count's ideas by specific examples. The interview with the ex-Shogun Prince Yoshinobu (Keiki) reveals some of the political motives, hitherto little known, of his illustrious ancestor Iyeyasu and of himself, the one the founder and the other the last suzerain of the Tokugawa system of feudalism (vol. I., ch. II.). Japan's foreign relations and constitutional régime are each summarized in two chapters (vol. I., chs. III. and IV.; v. and VI.). Of these, the late Prince Itô's chapter (v.) throws light on the political habits of the nation and the motives and aims of the framers of the constitution; Professor Ukita's account of the political parties (ch. VI.) is clear. Then follow chapters (vol. I., chs. IX.-XIV.) on law, institutions, and local administration, each containing a brief survey of the past history of the branch it treats, and those (vol. I., chs. VII., VIII.) on the army and navy, rather conventionally treated. The next thirteen chapters in the first volume take up the financial and economic activities, again accompanied by

résumés of the progress in Old Japan; some of these chapters, especially XXI., XXIV., and XXVII., are enlivened with suggestive remarks.

The second volume contains, besides those already mentioned, discussions of social changes (ch. XXIII.), not very incisive, of socialism (ch. XXVI.), of charity and the Red Cross Society (chs. VI., XVII.), and of education (chs. VII.-XI.). Mr. Naruse's ideas on the education of women may be taken to represent one, not the only, point of view. Next come chapters (XII.-XVI.) on the study of philosophy and sciences; Dr. Miyake's chapter on philosophy as usual shows his independent thinking and penetration. The chapter on journalism (XXI.) is clear, and that on the language (I.) is judicious. The illuminating chapter on Christianity (V.) is preceded by those on Shintō, Confucianism, and Buddhism (II., III., IV.); of the latter, Professor Kume's account of Shintō is brilliant and refreshingly free, and Professor Inouye's Confucianism in Japan embodies his special studies in this field and challenges careful reading. The chapters on fine arts and music (XVIII., XIX.) are comprehensive but perhaps too brief to leave any clear impression on the mind of the foreign reader; that on drama (XX.) presents critical as well as descriptive views on the subject. Japan's colonial activity in Hokkaidō and Formosa also receives notice (chs. XXVII., XXVIII.). Baron Tsudzuki's chapter on the social intercourse between Japanese and Occidentals (XXV.) is perhaps the only one in the two volumes that may be characterized as light.

K. ASAKAWA.

BOOKS OF AMERICAN HISTORY

The American People: a Study in National Psychology. By A. MAURICE LOW, Chevalier de l'Ordre de Léopold, Imperial Order of the Rising Sun. (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company. 1909. Pp. viii, 446.)

THE aim which the author sets forth in the opening pages of this volume is such as to arouse high expectations. "I purpose", he begins, "to write of the origin, growth and development of the American people and to trace the causes that have produced a new race. . . . The history of the mental growth of a people is tenfold more vital and enthralling than the chronicle of their wars and conquests." In pursuance of this plan he considers the effects of immigration, climate, and environment upon the early immigrants; and elucidates the New England, Virginian, and other colonial traits, inculcating, throughout, the fundamental fact that the colonist of the seventeenth century was a transplanted Englishman in all essentials, whose evolution began promptly toward the production of a new race. Unfortunately Mr. Low's book fails completely in the one most important respect. It is based on an indiscriminating and fragmentary list of secondary works, supplemented by a few well-known sources; it furnishes absolutely nothing new in support of the

author's observations and at best can be considered only in the light of an historical essay. It is in no sense a contribution to our knowledge of the colonial period and it can only to a limited extent be regarded as a contribution to our understanding of psychological origins. Mr. Low has grasped some well-known generalizations of the earlier American school of writers, from Bancroft to Fiske, and these he expresses with vigor and untiring reiteration but he apparently knows nothing of recent American investigations in the very field he has entered. No reference to the work of Andrews, Greene, Osgood, Beer, or Turner is found and the whole conception of the importance of the frontier is based on Fiske's treatment of the subject in *Old Virginia and her Neighbors*. Rather more than half the book consists of generalizations about "the Puritan", and most of the remainder is devoted to a superficial and generally conventional survey of the characteristics of the Southern and Middle colonies. It is interesting to find such a vigorous defense of "the Puritan" at this day but it would be more valuable if it were based on a first-hand knowledge of the colonial life and thought of New England and if it contained fewer errors and evidences of misinformation. One mare's nest discovered and unceasingly displayed is the importance of the distinction between Puritan and Pilgrim. This is summed up as follows: "These things are to be remembered:—*First*. That it was the Puritan and not the Pilgrim who founded American institutions. *Second*. That Pilgrim and Puritan are not synonymous terms and that Pilgrim and Puritan had little if anything in common. *Third*. That while the Pilgrim was a separatist from the Church of England and conceded the right of every man to worship God in his own way, the Puritan was a Church of England man and tolerated no other form of worship." No one who thoroughly knew American history could possibly make one of the above unqualified assertions, yet there is no one idea in the book upon which the author lays so much stress. The contrast between the "sweetness and mildness of the Plymouth Pilgrims" and the "grim intolerance" of the Puritans crops up continually. Perhaps it may be worth while to call attention to the fact that the *Mayflower* was not the sole origin of the United States but Mr. Low seems to feel that he is the first writer properly to emphasize the discovery, and he exaggerates an undoubted difference in temper between the earliest and the later New England colonies into a fundamental diversity which would have surprised none more than the contemporaries of Winslow and Winthrop. An example of the failure of Mr. Low to grasp the significant causes for this difference is shown by his omitting to describe or mention the peculiar political leadership which the clergy, under Calvinistic precedent, exercised in Massachusetts Bay. On the whole, the work is disappointing to the historical student who would welcome nothing more than a genuine attempt to grapple with the difficulties of analyzing the development of a specifically American psychology but who feels that to be valuable it

must be based on a thorough knowledge supplemented by sound historical judgment.

Women in Industry: a Study in American Economic History. By EDITH ABBOTT, Ph.D., Associate Director in the Chicago School of Civics and Philanthropy. With an introductory note by SOPHONISBA P. BRECKINRIDGE, J.D., Ph.D. (New York and London: D. Appleton and Company. 1910. Pp. xxii, 409.)

THIS volume contains what Dr. Abbott calls "a neglected chapter in our economic history". It is an historical study of the field of employment which women in America have occupied from colonial times, and not, as the title might suggest, a discussion of present problems arising out of women's work. The work did indeed originate in an analysis of recent census statistics, which inevitably gave rise to the question "how long and how far have women been an industrial factor of importance?" To those who are accustomed to regard the problem of women in industry as essentially a modern one the answer will no doubt be surprising.

In colonial times women worked in the home. With the introduction of improved textile machinery, the women followed the machines, which took the place of the accustomed hand spinning-wheel and loom, into the mills. Without the aid of women it would have been impossible to operate the early factories, for the heavier work of farm and forge made irresistible demand upon the labor of men. The moralist speedily justified what the economic situation necessitated. But not merely in the cotton mills did women thus early find employment; Dr. Abbott has collected data in a most interesting way to show the wide extent of the field of employment open to working women. As a matter of fact there were more opportunities to achieve industrial independence open to working women before the Civil War than there were to the educated woman. The proportion of women industrially employed was greater here than even in industrial England.

In order to trace the development more carefully, Dr. Abbott has made a study of five industries in which women occupy an especially important position to-day: the cotton industry, the manufacture of boots and shoes, cigar-making, the clothing trade, and printing. In the first and fourth, which were once peculiarly women's work, men have largely displaced the women; they have done so also in cigar-making, but seem now in danger of losing their positions again to the women. The reverse process has taken place in the other two trades, and women are to-day largely employed in work which a century ago would have been done by men. There is here afforded an interesting example of the shifting and readjustment which continually takes place in industry, according to which the labor force of the country is distributed in the most effective manner. When labor was scarce women were welcomed in industrial occupations; machinery was even adapted to their inferior

strength and was made light and easy running. After immigration had made available a larger labor supply, men began to displace the women and heavier machines driven at higher speed were introduced.

Dr. Abbott is inclined to lament the attitude of the public moralist, who, in the face of the new situation, would confine women to the home. But is not such an attitude simply an application of a principle whose working the author has traced historically, but which she is unwilling to see applied practically to present conditions? Moreover, in view of woman's well-known weakness as an industrial bargainer, a healthy fear of a lowering of the general standard of living of the working class is evidenced by a disinclination to have her compete with men for the same positions. The improvement in women's industrial status would seem to lie along the same lines as that in which their fathers and brothers have advanced, namely education and organization.

No attempt has been made in the volume to discuss the various problems connected with woman's industrial employment. But as an historical study it deserves praise, having the high qualities of thoroughness, trustworthiness, and readableness.

Commodore John Rodgers, Captain, Commodore, and Senior Officer of the American Navy, 1773-1838: a Biography. By CHARLES OSCAR PAULLIN. (Cleveland, Ohio: The Arthur H. Clark Company. 1910. Pp. 434.)

IN this handsome volume Dr. Paullin has given us the biography of a man whose forty years of service began with the establishment of the navy in 1798. Rodgers was the senior of the brilliant group of officers who brought fame to the navy in the War of 1812, but because he had not the good fortune to capture a British frigate his name is less familiar to the general reader than some of the others.

The book opens with a chapter on his early life, which is followed by two on the war with France. Having been to sea in the merchant service since boyhood, Rodgers entered the navy at the age of twenty-five. As first lieutenant of the *Constellation* under Truxtun he took part in the capture of the *Insurgente* in 1799. As a result of the superior qualities exhibited by him on this occasion he was made a captain and spent the last year of the war in command of the twenty-gun ship *Maryland*. In chapter iv. we find him again in the merchant service temporarily, having been left without occupation in the navy upon the return of peace with France. The three following chapters deal with two cruises in the Mediterranean during the period from 1802 to 1806, covering a great part of the war with Tripoli in which Rodgers played an active part under Commodores Morris and Barron. In the last year, as commander-in-chief of the squadron, he turned his attention after peace with Tripoli to curbing the warlike spirit of the bey of Tunis. Acting without instructions in this matter Rodgers displayed commendable firmness and good judgment.

In chapter VIII., bringing us to 1810, the author gives an admirable account of the famous *Chesapeake* affair. The next two chapters concern Rodgers's cruises in command of the frigate *President*, before and during the War of 1812. In 1811 an exemplification of the strained and unstable relations of the United States and Great Britain was furnished by the encounter with the *Little Belt*, an unfortunate but seemingly unavoidable occurrence. While actively cruising nearly two years after the declaration of war, had fortune favored him, Rodgers might have captured five frigates at various times. Three of them he chased, but they escaped; the other two he avoided under the impression that they were ships of the line. Nevertheless, the services of the *President* during these cruises were of great value and importance. She kept the British fleet occupied and diverted from the pursuit of American merchantmen, and although missing two large convoys of the enemy she took many prizes. Rodgers's plan was to cruise in squadron and he displayed a better knowledge of strategy than any other American commander. In 1814 Rodgers served on shore, assisting in the defense of Washington and Baltimore. After a chapter devoted to this subject come the last four of the book, dealing with the commodore's life in Washington and his long service as president of the Board of Navy Commissioners, extending from 1815 until 1837, with the exception of a three years' interruption at the middle of the period when he performed his last sea service in command of the Mediterranean squadron. As navy commissioner Rodgers did much to develop naval policy and his influence has been enduring. He was one of the first to foresee the supremacy of steam and to urge its adoption.

The publication of this book reduces by one the number of lives of our naval worthies which ought to be written, and the work has been done in a most thorough and satisfactory manner. To mention the one error discovered, Commodore Thomas Macdonough appears as James in the index and on pages 33 and 39 seems to be confounded with a midshipman of that name. An extensive bibliography doubtless contains about all there is in print besides a large amount of manuscript material. This latter comprises the official records in the Library of Congress and in the library of the Navy Department, including a large collection of Rodgers's papers; also numerous papers in the possession of the commodore's descendants. A number of interesting illustrations, including three portraits of Rodgers, should be mentioned, also an excellent index.

G. W. ALLEN.

Henry Clay. By his Grandson, THOMAS HART CLAY. Completed by ELLIS PAXSON OBERHOLTZER, Ph.D. [American Crisis Biographies.] (Philadelphia: George W. Jacobs and Company. 1910. Pp. 450.)

THIS biography, left unfinished at the death of Thomas Hart Clay in 1907, has been completed by Dr. Oberholtzer, the editor of the series

to which it belongs, with the assistance of Mrs. Clay. The loss or destruction of the larger part of Clay's correspondence, together with the wide dispersion of what little remains, has made it impossible, we are told, to incorporate in the work much new material; but the editor vouches for the statement "that what it is possible to find has been found, and that no considerable number of letters remain anywhere untouched".

Mr. John T. Morse, jr., in his editorial introduction to Schurz's life of Clay, justifies the allotment of two volumes to the subject on the ground that Clay "managed to get upon both sides of pretty much every great question which arose in his day". The dictum, curiously at variance with Schurz's own conclusions, is to be defended only on the assumption that he who acts the part of pacificator in great national crises is a "straddler" rather than a statesman. Such, certainly, is not the impression which the present biography gives. Mr. Clay (as such we will designate the author here) is, to be sure, frankly eulogistic. While he does not blink Clay's weaknesses or mistakes, he writes throughout with no concealment of his admiration for Clay as a statesman and a man, and, it must be admitted, with an asperity towards Clay's opponents which on the whole is uncalled for. Moreover, he does not attempt the broad treatment of American politics which makes Schurz's volumes notable; on the contrary, he adopts the old-fashioned annalistic method for the most part, disposes summarily of the general course of events, and lets Clay speak for himself in letters, speeches, and personal relations with constituents and friends. While, therefore, one must not expect to find in this volume any important addition to knowledge, the work is of importance as a somewhat different setting-forth of Clay's position from that which has often been exhibited.

On far the larger number of questions which came before Congress during his public life, Clay's attitude, as the record here set down shows, was one of remarkable consistency. He never ceased to advocate internal improvements, nor to urge close political relations with the states of Central and South America. He opposed Jackson on broad grounds of personal and political fitness quite dissociated from the "corrupt bargain" charge; and he never trusted Van Buren. His support of the Bank of the United States did not waver even in the face of the wide popular approval of Jackson's policy. No one condemned more often or more unsparingly Nullification, or, for that matter, the whole theory of states' rights and constitutional construction for which Calhoun stood.

There remain the two questions of slavery and the tariff, on both of which Clay appears as the great compromiser. Clay did not approve of slavery, rejoiced in the progress of emancipation, and consistently urged colonization as a solution of the race problem involved; but he believed, and properly, that the institution could not be done away with by Congress, and that it had equal constitutional rights with freedom in

the territories. That he did not feel the moral force of Abolition, or appreciate the revolution slowly taking place in public opinion in the North, is true; few of his great contemporaries did; but this, after all is said and done, is only to point out that he stood on the wrong side of a great issue, not that he "straddled" the question. Nor does it appear that he ever abandoned, or even abated, his belief in protection, or that he regarded the tariff of 1833 in any other light than that of a temporary reduction of duties made necessary to save the Union. The precise measure of protection to be accorded to this or that industry was, indeed, a matter of compromise, but the principle of protection was not surrendered.

Mr. Clay's work has been carefully done, and was worth doing. When Clay's letters and speeches shall have been satisfactorily edited, this book should prove a valuable guide to the writer who attempts a definitive biography of Henry Clay.

WILLIAM MACDONALD.

A Documentary History of American Industrial Society. Edited by JOHN R. COMMONS, ULRICH B. PHILLIPS, EUGENE A. GILMORE, HELEN L. SUMNER, and JOHN B. ANDREWS. Prepared under the auspices of the American Bureau of Industrial Research, with the co-operation of the Carnegie Institution of Washington. With preface by RICHARD T. ELY and introduction by JOHN B. CLARK. Volumes III. and IV. *Labor Conspiracy Cases, 1806-1842.* (Cleveland, Ohio: The Arthur H. Clark Company. 1910. Pp. 385; 341.)

In 1806, the measures taken by certain journeymen cordwainers of Philadelphia to compel their employers to pay them higher wages, and to force certain of their fellow-workmen to become members of their organization, caused them to be indicted in the mayor's court for conspiracy; and after a long and ably conducted trial they were duly convicted and fined. Similar prosecutions were subsequently (1806-1840) instituted, usually with the same results, against the cordwainers' and other workmen's associations in Baltimore and several other cities. So great was the interest excited by these Labor Conspiracy Cases that elaborate pamphlet reports, containing in many instances full stenographic records of the testimony of witnesses and the arguments of counsel, were published and widely distributed. Volumes III. and IV. of the *Documentary History* reprint such of these pamphlets as are still extant, together with contemporary newspaper accounts of cases not otherwise reported. They give, besides, references to others of these decisions that appear in volumes of published court reports. Thus they render practically accessible for the first time a great deal of very interesting and valuable material bearing upon labor conditions in the early years of the United States. Volume III. is further en-

riched by an elaborate historical introduction by Professor Commons.

The Labor Conspiracy Cases present spirited pictures of the tactics of industrial warfare employed by the militant labor-unions of the period. They also evidence the novelty of the peculiar measures resorted to, as well as the instinctive alarm aroused by them in the different communities affected.

These decisions, however, have exercised but little permanent influence upon labor law in the United States. They resulted from attempts to fit the harsh doctrines of the old English common law to an environment utterly different from that in which these doctrines had their origin. Fortified by the decisions in *Rex v. Wise* (The Journey-men Tailors of Cambridge) and *Rex v. Sterling et al.* (The Tub-women v. the Brewers of London), the judges who sat in these cases instructed the juries that the combinations charged were criminal conspiracies by reason of the harm done to trade and commerce by strikes and the increased wages thereby secured, and of the ruin brought upon non-union men by the loss of their employment.

Neither of the principles so laid down has prevailed. In *Commonwealth v. Hunt*, 4 Metcalf III (1842), the Supreme Judicial Court of Massachusetts held that a combination to strike for better wages is not a conspiracy, and this doctrine has never been questioned since. Later decisions also, while still declaring illegal a combination to force a man to join the union by depriving him of his employment by threats to strike against him, have modified the reasoning by which this result was reached. In the Labor Conspiracy Cases the courts looked only at the damage thereby done to the "scab", and held the combination illegal upon the broad ground that it was a combination to "impoverish" him. The later decisions have introduced the qualifying conception that the concerted infliction of intentional damage of this character is not unlawful if the members of the combination can show sufficient justification, in the way of substantial advancement of their legitimate material interests likely to result to themselves, always provided their acts are not unlawful *per se*. And while the courts of to-day will not permit a union to procure the discharge of a non-union man for the sole purpose of compelling him to become a member, it is because they do not regard the desire to have him join the union as sufficient justification for the loss thus directly and intentionally inflicted upon him.

J. WALLACE BRYAN.

Fifty Years in Camp and Field: Diary of Ethan Allen Hitchcock, Major-General, U. S. A. Edited by W. A. CROFFUT, Ph.D. (New York and London: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1909. Pp. xv, 514.)

WE are adding quite rapidly to our stock of valuable biographical works relating to recent history. Few of them are more absorbing than that which is based on the voluminous diaries kept by General Ethan

Allen Hitchcock during more than fifty years. On reading the book we feel regret that there is not more of it and our curiosity is aroused as to the balance of the mass of material which we are told he kept in carefully arranged and methodical form. Seldom do we encounter a more voluminous commentator on current events, or one more competent and ready to state an opinion.

General Hitchcock, a grandson of the distinguished captor of Ticonderoga and Crown Point, graduated at the Military Academy in 1817, too late for service in one war, he was deprived by illness from participating in Taylor's battles in the Mexican War, and he was too feeble in health to take an active part in the great Civil War; yet he held a large place in the councils of the nation and through his long career was sought out for many difficult and responsible duties.

An independent nature and a facile pen made the general an element of trouble at times. He did not hesitate to "disobey and defy" his superiors when it seemed right and just to do so, and the violence of his language has seldom been exceeded in official correspondence. We find him in conflict with such men as Andrew Jackson, Winfield Scott, and E. M. Stanton, not to speak of lesser personages such as Colonel Sylvanus Thayer, Generals Worth, Harney, Pillow, and B. F. Butler, several secretaries of war and members of Congress, yet he holds his own every time. The very animosities which he aroused seemed to make him more friends, for he was commandant of cadets at the Military Academy, was several times suggested for inspector-general by the Secretary of War and the General of the Army, declined the position of governor of Liberia, and again of commissioner of Indian Affairs, was inspector-general of Scott's army in Mexico. In the Civil War he declined about everything that could be offered to a soldier from the command of Grant's expedition to Forts Henry and Donelson, and McClellan's army on the Peninsula, to the command of the entire military forces of the country.

General Hitchcock's bitter disagreements did not always cause a permanent hostility. Notwithstanding a refusal to obey orders and an arrest by Thayer he became commandant of cadets under that same officer and his friend and supporter. His defense of General Gaines and his criticism of several acts of General Scott did not interfere with a mutual friendship being built up during which he was one of Scott's most devoted adherents. Perhaps the most remarkable instance of this kind was the case in which Hitchcock literally flayed Stanton alive for certain orders to a court-martial. But he remained a friend and adviser of Stanton and was often his brilliant and powerful defender. These stories speak well for the magnanimity of men who have not been usually given credit for a forgiving nature.

The general draws a disagreeable picture of the personnel of the army at various periods of his career. The officers seem to have been in a large degree idle, dissipated, and quarrelsome. In Taylor's army

the senior officers were not acquainted with the common drill of the battalion, much less with the movements of a brigade or army. Taylor himself could not form a brigade into line. Speaking of the volunteers of the Western states whom he was detailed to muster out of the service, he gives this parting shot: "It is vain to deny it; these troops are unworthy the name of soldiers. The officers are, for the most part, little better than the men." He pays his respects to the "mushroom" generals who owed all the reputation they made to the regular army, which many pretended to despise.

The decision to retain McDowell's Corps for the defense of Washington in 1862 seems to be traceable to Hitchcock's advice. He claims credit for urging Lincoln to send to Grant for troops to oppose Early's advance on Washington in 1864. Swinton was furnished by him with much of his material for his attacks on McClellan, which may perhaps by this means be indirectly traced to Stanton also. While acting as president of the Fitz-John Porter court, General Hitchcock wrote in his diary: "He ought to be shot."

Although General Hitchcock was an accomplished soldier he often confesses to a lack of enthusiasm for his profession and declares that his chief enjoyment is in metaphysical and esoteric studies of which he published eight large volumes.

The various Indian wars in which he engaged he considers unjust, cruel, and oppressive; the battle of Ash Hollow he calls a "bloody massacre", the Mexican War an "unholy and iniquitous proceeding".

EBEN SWIFT.

Memoirs of Gustave Koerner, 1809-1896. Life-sketches written at the suggestion of his children. In two volumes. By THOMAS J. MCCORMACK. (Cedar Rapids, Iowa: The Torch Press. 1909. Pp. xv, 628; xii, 768.)

AMERICAN students of history, who have properly concerned themselves with the details of seventeenth-century colonization, have not yet conceived in adequate perspective the contributions made to our American civilization by the colonists of the nineteenth century. When the future historian comes to gather his material for these studies, he will surely learn much from the statistician, the genealogist, and the "filio-pietistic" champions of particular ethnic elements. But for genuine insight he must depend largely upon the "life histories" of typical men, remembering always that their importance is not wholly determined by the prominence of the individual selected. The very eminence of such men as Schurz and Villard, the range of their interests and associations, lessen to a certain degree their significance as representatives of the distinctly German group. From this point of view the life of a typical German-American leader like Koerner has a peculiar value. In his experiences, his ideals, and his prejudices, in his reaction

to the new American environment, he is a genuine representative of many thousands of his fellow-countrymen.

At many points the career of Koerner challenges comparison with that of Schurz. Koerner was born in Frankfort in 1809, Schurz, twenty years later in Rhenish Prussia. Both passed their student days and came to manhood under the influence of radical agitation. As youthful revolutionist and refugee, Koerner shared in the political movements of the early thirties, as Schurz did in those of 1848 and 1849. Both coming to the United States as young men identified themselves resolutely with the life of their adopted country, Koerner in Illinois and Schurz in Wisconsin. In the autumn of 1852, the year in which Schurz came to the United States, Koerner, after a successful record as lawyer, member of the legislature, and judge of the state supreme court, was elected lieutenant-governor of Illinois on the Democratic ticket. A few years later Koerner's anti-slavery convictions carried him out of the Democratic ranks and made him one of the founders of the Republican party. Schurz, coming to Wisconsin at a time when the old party lines were breaking, threw himself so vigorously into the Republican campaign of 1856 that, in 1857, the Wisconsin Republicans followed the Illinois precedent and made him their candidate for lieutenant-governor.

Both men participated in the Lincoln-Douglas contest of 1858, Koerner as chairman of the state convention which nominated Lincoln. Both sat in the Chicago Convention of 1860 and both as members of the Committee on Resolutions stood not only for Republican principles on the slavery issue but also for generous recognition of the foreign-born voter. They were divided, however, on the question of the candidate; Koerner went with his state for Lincoln, while Schurz was for Seward. During the war both held somewhat confidential relations with Lincoln who found Koerner's diplomacy useful at a critical moment with the Germans of Missouri. Koerner had no such conspicuous military career as Schurz, though he rendered some service in the preliminary organization of the Illinois volunteers. Both played minor parts in the diplomatic history of the Civil War as ministers to Spain.

In the Reconstruction period, both were antagonistic to Johnson and his presidential policy. During Grant's administration, Koerner, like Schurz, gradually became dissatisfied with the Republican "organization" and entered actively into the Liberal Republican movement of 1872. He was chairman of the Illinois delegation at the Cincinnati Convention and subsequently the Liberal Republican candidate for governor. In the difficult situation which confronted the Liberals in 1876, Koerner, influenced perhaps by earlier Democratic associations, decided for Tilden and resented strongly Schurz's support of Hayes.

Both men valued highly their German inheritance, but Koerner's activity and interests were much more largely within the German-American group, though he was never in sympathy with the promoters of the "German State" idea. Thus his journalistic contributions were

largely to German papers, while Schurz though also conspicuous in German-American journalism reached a wider public through the columns of *Harper's Weekly*. Schurz planned for his more permanent literary products the lives of Clay and Lincoln and a never-realized history of the United States, but Koerner's closest interest was in the history and mission of his own German-American stock. To such studies he made a solid contribution in his *Das Deutsche Element*.

Some limitations of these memoirs are frankly indicated by Dr. McCormack in his editorial notes. Recollections of youth and early manhood written down in extreme old age must obviously be used with caution. It should be said, however, that Koerner was throughout his life in the habit of keeping rather voluminous records of various sorts, including letters and a fragmentary diary. These are freely drawn upon for certain parts of his narrative. "The original manuscript not having been accessible", the printed text has been taken with some "rectifying" from a manuscript copy. The result would have been more satisfactory from the historian's point of view, if this "rectifying" had been more specifically indicated. The book is rather long for the general reader but even those outside the circle of kinship will enjoy some glimpses of a simple and pleasant family life, typically German in its usages and *Weltanschauung*.

In this book the reader may see the changing scenes of American society and politics as they appeared to a representative citizen of foreign birth, who brought with him from his native country the memory of actual participation in one of the great political movements of the century and, living all his life in a distinctly German-American community, preserved in large measure a distinctive point of view of which the future historian must take account.

Retrospections of an Active Life. In three volumes. By JOHN BIGELOW. (New York: The Baker and Taylor Company. 1909. Pp. xiv, 645; vii, 607; vii, 684.)

A New Englander by descent but born November 25, 1817, at Malden, now Bristol, in Ulster County, New York, Mr. Bigelow is well advanced in his ninety-third year. He betook himself to the city of New York in 1835, where as a student of law he sat at a desk in a building on the corner of Cedar and Nassau streets, on the site at present occupied by the Bank of Commerce. His acquaintance with the city of his adoption, its inhabitants, and its development thus covers a period of no less than seventy-five years. Admitted to the New York bar in 1838, after ten years of not over-active practice thereat, he, in the fall of the year 1848, at the suggestion of William Cullen Bryant, became the owner of a part interest in the *Evening Post* newspaper, and its working editor. Acquiring what he regarded as a competency, he subsequently in 1861 withdrew from journalistic work, but only to be appointed in August of the same year United States consul at Paris.

Remaining in France, either as consul or as minister at the court of Napoleon III., from the autumn of 1861 until the close of 1866, he then returned to New York, where he has since lived, occupying himself more recently in the preparation of his *Retrospections*, but always concerned in a wide variety of public activities. Mr. Bigelow's life, therefore, covers the whole period of what may not unfairly be termed the metropolitan development of the city of New York, involving in his case an almost intimate personal acquaintance with many of its principal inhabitants—the leading actors in over two generations of municipal life.

The *Retrospections* now published cover, however, only thirty of Mr. Bigelow's seventy-five years in New York—the period between his first coming there in 1835 and his return from France in 1866. His active participation in affairs of any historical moment has been even less, and these memoirs, therefore, except in so far as they are reminiscent of his earlier and less mature experiences, cover but the single score of years between 1848 and 1868. But during those years, connected as he at first was with the *Evening Post*, and, subsequently, with events in Europe during the Civil War and the years immediately following, his recollections and record have a permanent value; for he came or was brought into immediate official and personal contact or correspondence with many of the more active participants in the affairs of a very memorable period, and to a considerable extent was at the centre of operations.

As to the earlier period—that of his connection with the *Evening Post*—while Mr. Bigelow has published a considerable number of letters editorially received by him from correspondents now become historical, but little additional or new light of importance is by them thrown on the course of events which led up to the conflict of 1861–1864. His original mission abroad, though consular only, has a diplomatic significance not at once apparent. When Mr. Seward took charge of the Department of State he at once adopted a policy highly characteristic of one trained in the school of New York politics. Face to face with what amounted to a revolution, the outcome of which was plainly in large degree dependent on the course of events in Europe, and especially in Great Britain and France, President Lincoln's foreign secretary arranged the machinery of his office on a plan peculiarly his own. He did not propose to depend altogether on the traditional accredited representatives of the country. He planned, on the contrary, to have his own private bureau of intelligence and system of manikin wires. Accordingly, with a view to influencing, as he so considered, European public opinion, while at the same time informing himself, he, first and last, sent to Europe what amounted to almost a mob of special agents and representatives, more or less accredited, whose province it was to keep him personally advised, much in the fashion of a newspaper press agency. Of those thus specially commissioned, Mr. Bigelow was one of the more judiciously selected; and, probably, distinctly the most effi-

cient. Without any special qualification for the post, he was appointed consul at Paris, with the clear further understanding that he was to use his journalistic experience acquired in New York to influence the press of continental Europe. The manipulation of the English press was at the same time entrusted to Mr. Thurlow Weed, the secretary's journalistic and political *fidus Achates*. Of the other specially accredited but irregular agents of the same category it is unnecessary here to speak. While their private and confidential communications with the Secretary of State have never as yet to any large extent seen the light, they probably contain a varied assortment of information and gossip, the nature and value of which can only be surmised. It is, however, an altogether open question whether, with one or two exceptions, the services rendered by this corps of international supernumeraries were of any value. Their presence and interference was well known abroad, and, naturally, not understood. By the foreign chancelleries, it was taken to indicate a lack of confidence in the regularly accredited representatives, and was not unskillfully manipulated to that end by the agents of the Confederacy; though they in their turn were not without their annoyances, arising from a precisely similar policy pursued at Richmond. Indeed a very amusing as well as suggestive illustration of the practical working of this press-bureau diplomacy is furnished in these volumes by Mr. Bigelow under the heading, "Slidell's Scrap with De Leon"; a certain Mr. Edward De Leon having been specially commissioned as a roving diplomat by Mr. Benjamin, much as Mr. Weed was by Secretary Seward.

During Mr. Bigelow's tenure of the two positions of consul at Paris and minister to the Tuileries, two issues of historical importance presented themselves and were finally disposed of. Of them, in all their stages, he had personal knowledge. These issues related, the one to the attitude of the Second Empire towards the United States during the Civil War; and the other to the progress and collapse of Louis Napoleon's Mexican experiment, the collapse of the last logically resulting from the outcome of the first. So far as the attitude of France towards the United States is concerned, while Mr. Bigelow in the present publication prints many official and other papers, he throws no new or additional light upon the essential points. In fact, in his previous work, *France and the Confederate Navy*, he brought out all the important facts relating to the episode, leaving little except details and documents for the present publication. But Mr. Bigelow's present work is disappointing in the other respect. He fails to deal adequately with Napoleon's Mexican venture. Yet, assuredly, he was in a position to enable him to do so, not only historically—for that he does to a certain extent—but from the far more interesting, because complex, psychological point of view. Mr. Bigelow stood for years in close enough personal relations with Napoleon III. to form his own opinions of the man, his motives, and his methods; in a word, to penetrate his mystery. If, however, he really got at the true inwardness of the Mexican business,

so vital to any correct reading of the history of the Second Empire, he has failed to impart it.

The verdicts of history once rendered are rarely reversed; and the Maximilian-Montezuma experiment has gone into history as a complete failure—an utter fiasco. Nevertheless, it is still fairly open to question whether it was in truth quite so fatuous, so ill-considered, and so hopeless a political venture on the part of Napoleon III. as is now assumed. It is to be remembered that in the sixties and even in the seventies of the last century the present craze on the part of the so-called “world powers” for colonies and dependencies and “spheres of influence” had not taken form. It was in the sixties that Mr. Disraeli referred in Parliament in well-remembered terms to “our wretched colonies”. When the treaty of Washington was in course of negotiation it is a well-established fact that Great Britain would have experienced no considerable regret had both the Eastern Provinces and the Canadas been induced to throw in their lot with the United States. Its representative in this country so intimated most clearly to Mr. Fish, then Secretary of State. Subsequently, and largely as a result of Admiral Mahan’s historical development of the idea of sea-power as an inseparable adjunct of world-power, a complete revolution of national policies in this respect took place.

Is it therefore perfectly clear that in reaching out in 1861 to secure a “sphere of influence”, if not a dependency on the Gulf of Mexico, Louis Napoleon, unknowingly but by anticipation, did not foreshadow and instinctively anticipate a policy which was afterwards to become accepted and world-wide? Was that policy then so very ill-considered on his part? It is to be remembered that both in 1861 and 1864 the dismemberment of the United States was regarded in Europe, especially in Great Britain and in France, as both immanent and, practically, certain to take place. Louis Napoleon sought to secure for the empire of which he was the head and for the French people a territorial outlet to make good the loss of that Louisiana domain which, sixty years before, had been sold by his uncle to the United States for a mess of pottage; though, it is also true, under hostile sea-power duress. Was he, under the circumstances, wholly ill-advised or unadvised when he fixed his eyes on Mexico? The dismemberment of the United States logically involved a collapse of the Monroe Doctrine. Both the one and the other could, he considered, be calculated upon with at least a reasonable degree of certainty. In Louisiana there still remained a considerable and influential infusion of the French Creole blood. John Slidell, a Confederate representative with an instinct for intrigue, was present in Paris, and was whispering delusion in his ear. To such a degree was this the case that, even as late as August, 1864—during the last year of the Civil War—Mr. Bigelow one day wrote to Secretary Seward that the emperor had then recently said to M. Ancel, a member of the Corps Législatif: “Lee will take Washington and then I shall

recognize the Confederates. I have just received the news that Lee is certain to take Washington, and he is probably in possession of the Capital now. As soon as the fact transpires, I shall be justified in recognizing the Confederate government, and then England will regret her course. England always likes to be on the side of the strongest." Politically, Mexico was in a state of anarchy at once chaotic and chronic. All this being so, it only remained for the emperor to do, securely, to all appearances, and with small expenditure both of money and blood, what has since been done by Germany, Russia, France, and even attempted by Italy, in Africa and Asia at vast expenditures of both, that is, by establishing political stability in Mexico, to secure a dependency.

That war's dice-throw decided otherwise is obvious now, nor admits of denial; but on the other hand can it fairly be said that in entering on his Mexican policy of 1861 the emperor did not, as things then looked, have a fair preponderance of chances in his favor? Or, moreover, that the policy thus entered upon was not an anticipation, to be pronounced most sagacious if successful, of what has actually since occurred? Meanwhile, during the time Mr. Bigelow was at work on his *Retrospections*, much additional information concerning this episode has been brought to the surface and put within reach by Messrs. Hanotaux and Ollivier, of which Mr. Bigelow does not seem to have cared to make use.

As to the diplomatic relations of this country with the various European governments during the Civil War, little new can be derived from Mr. Bigelow's volumes. He publishes many letters and documents, and a considerable amount of official correspondence, both of the representatives of the United States and of the agents of the Confederacy, but not much of real value not already accessible. In fact, it is now not unsafe to say that no material is in future likely to be unearthed which will affect in any material degree our Civil War historical conclusions already reached. It is, for instance, well established that during the critical period of the war, everything depended upon the action of the English government under the Palmerston-Russell régime. Largely influenced by the possible outcome of his Mexican venture, Louis Napoleon brought all the pressure in his power to bear upon the English government to induce it to recognize the Confederacy, including as that step must have included an intervention on the part of the European powers. In this he failed by the narrowest possible margin. The intensely interesting inside European history of the period has, however, gradually come to light in such memoirs as Fitzmaurice's *Life of Granville* and Morley's *Gladstone*, and little apparently remains to be revealed. Had the papers of John Slidell been preserved, it is not impossible that further inside details of the numerous intrigues then carried on might have been disclosed. But those papers, it is understood, have been destroyed, while the corresponding papers left by his fellow Confederate agent, Mr. J. M. Mason, so far as they have been made public, have no considerable historical interest. But it is extremely improbable that any-

thing possible to be derived from material either as yet undiscovered or known to have been destroyed, would materially affect conclusions already reached.

In other respects, Mr. Bigelow's volumes contain a body of correspondence, much of which has great individual interest. In it we continually come across pen-and-ink sketches and casual contemporary references to characters now become historical, which are lifelike in their touch. Among these characters are Bryant, the poet and editor, John Van Buren, in his day the Alciabiades of New York politics, Charles Sumner, Charles O'Connor, Samuel J. Tilden, W. H. Russell, of Crimean fame, first and best remembered of all modern war-correspondents, Preston King, Thurlow Weed, and a host of others.

There is a very interesting description of Mr. Gladstone at his best period (1860), as he appeared when delivering the address on his installation as Lord Rector of the University of Edinburgh (I. 272, 274, 275); and valuable statements concerning the impression made by Mr. Lincoln during the early days of his presidency (I. 365, 366).

Equal historical value attaches to the following passage relating to President Lincoln and Secretary Seward at a very momentous international crisis. The story reached Mr. Bigelow at the time through Richard M. Blatchford, a most reliable informant, with excellent means of information. The surrender of Messrs. Mason and Slidell on the demand of the Russell-Palmerston government was under consideration. The story (I. 439) "related to the preparation of Mr. Seward's letter, and, if authentic, as I have no reason to doubt, is worthy of being preserved. He said that Mr. Lincoln was fully determined not to surrender the commissioners. When Mr. Seward waited upon him with Earl Russell's despatch demanding their surrender, Mr. Lincoln, as soon as Mr. Seward had finished reading it, said promptly and decidedly, 'No.' Mr. Seward said it was a grave step to refuse. 'No matter', said the President; 'I will never give them up.' 'Then I shall be obliged to ask you, Mr. President, to write the reply to Earl Russell', said the Secretary, 'for the strength of the argument from our own past policy, so far as I can see, is all in favor of a compliance with his demands.'

"After a short interval of silence, Mr. Lincoln said: 'Very well, I will write a reply; but you write also such a reply as you think should be made to it, and come to me with it on Monday morning, when we will read them together.'

"At the appointed hour Mr. Seward repaired to the White House with the letter he had prepared. Mr. Lincoln asked him to read his letter first. Mr. Seward read, the President meantime making no remark nor giving any sign of the impression it was leaving upon him. As soon as Mr. Seward had finished, the President took up the manuscript of the letter he had prepared, but, instead of reading it, deliberately threw the sheets into the grate. Then turning to Mr. Seward, he said, 'That argument is unanswerable.'

Of the various characters whose confidential outpourings are here made public, Mr. Thurlow Weed distinctly suffers most by exposure in print. The letters addressed by him to Mr. Bigelow were uniformly weak, querulous, and pessimistic to a degree.

CHARLES FRANCIS ADAMS.

The Works of James Buchanan, comprising his Speeches, State Papers, and Private Correspondence. Collected and edited by JOHN BASSETT MOORE. Volume X., 1856-1860; Volume XI., 1860-1868. (Philadelphia and London: J. B. Lippincott Company. 1910. Pp. xv, 467; xxii, 516.)

WITH so much of the material in these volumes as comprises Buchanan's messages, proclamations, and official correspondence the present review need not concern itself. The public record of Buchanan's fateful term as president was at the time, and has been many times since, minutely examined, and its chief characteristics have been fully set forth in all the larger histories of the period. We must also pass over such additional matter as was made available through the publication of Curtis's biography, merely noting that here, as in previous volumes of this collection, Professor Moore prints in full a number of papers which Curtis printed only in part. The proportion of letters to Buchanan is somewhat larger than in earlier volumes, the editorial notes are fuller, and a number of documents necessary to a proper understanding of the incidents touched upon are included. The last entry in volume XI. bears date of April 11, 1868, but an appendix gives a few letters of earlier dates which came to light too late for insertion in their proper chronological order.

The beginning of 1856 found Buchanan still at his post in London awaiting the appointment of his successor (a matter in regard to which President Pierce seemed to be in no hurry), and busy with the adjustment of the controversy over Central American affairs. When Crampton was handed his passports, Buchanan expected to receive his, but the excitement blew over, Dallas shortly arrived to succeed him, and on the fifteenth of March he presented his letter of recall. Buchanan had been successful as a diplomatist, and his subsequent private correspondence with the queen, the prince consort, and Lord Clarendon shows the esteem in which he continued to be held. He made a brief visit to the Continent and then returned to the United States, to be nominated in June as the Democratic candidate for president. His political opinions had undergone no change. He denounced the slavery agitation, condemned the course of the Free State leaders in Kansas, criticized sharply the attitude of New England, and hoped with apparent sincerity for the speedy restoration of peace and harmony. No more now than ever did he show capacity for reading the signs of the times.

The course of political events led him more and more into opposition to Douglas. In February, before his inauguration, he had been

privately informed by Justices Catron and Grier of the probable decision in the Dred Scott case; and in June, 1859, he wrote to Robert Tyler that an attempt ought to be made "to present clearly and strongly the broad and marked line of difference between Squatter Sovereignty and popular Sovereignty"; that the doctrine of squatter sovereignty "is equivalent to a declaration that no other Slave State shall ever be admitted into the Union, because the first ten or twenty thousand people who rush into a new territory are never slave holders"; and that "the design attributed by Mr. Douglas to the Democratic party to reopen the Slave Trade or to establish a Congressional Slave Code is truly ridiculous" (X. 325, 326). That he foresaw the possibility of war, or at least of armed outbreak in the South, is evident from his request of Holt, Secretary of War, January 2, 1860, for a statement of the troops in the Atlantic and Gulf States "which could be rendered available for the defence of the public property, and also of the force now in Fort Sumter" (X. 372); yet with this crisis looming before him, he gave his support to Breckinridge, the presidential candidate in 1860 of the disunion faction of the Democrats.

Buchanan seems not to have felt that there was any contradiction in affirming that while a state might not constitutionally secede, the President had no power to compel it to remain in the Union. In his view, the responsibility for declaring war against a state rested with Congress, not with the President. May 6, 1861, he wrote to Stanton that "upon re-examination of the whole course of my administration from the 6th November, 1860, I can find nothing to regret" (XI. 188). The existence of a cabinet crisis on December 29, such as Curtis refers to, seems to be disproved by the documents here collected; but Judge Black, writing to Curtis in 1881, while upholding Buchanan in his determination to have harmony in the administration, declares that he did not "trust his constitutional advisers with his plans and modes of management", and that he consulted with them to obtain information rather than advice (XI. 63-65).

The persistent and bitter attacks made upon his administration after his retirement early determined him to write a defense, and from May, 1861, he was busy collecting documents and personal statements and elaborating the narrative. His first plan seems to have been to intrust the preparation of the book to Black, and the latter even went so far as to suggest financial terms; but when in September, 1861, Buchanan publicly endorsed Lincoln's policy, Black wrote that "it is in vain to think that the two administrations can be made consistent", and that "if this war is right and politic and wise and constitutional, I cannot but think you ought to have made it" (XI. 224); and he declined to go further with the work. What hurt Buchanan most, as time went on, was the refusal of certain members of his former cabinet to contradict the statement of Thurlow Weed, published in London, that they had grossly insulted Buchanan in cabinet meetings; but even this charge

he hoped to refute in his book. He opposed the issue of legal tender notes as unconstitutional, but he was gratified at Johnson's plan, "not of reconstruction *but of restoration*", having always held that the seceded states were never constitutionally out of the Union (XI. 405).

WILLIAM MACDONALD.

A Compendium of the War of the Rebellion. By FREDERICK H. DYER. (Cedar Rapids, Iowa: The Torch Press. 1908. Pp. 1796.)

A Compendium of the War of the Rebellion is the title given by the author, Frederick H. Dyer, to a quarto of 1796 pages, presenting a vast collection of statistics and other historical matter relating to the Union armies, gathered mainly from the 128 volumes of the Official Records of the War but supplemented from other books on the war, all of which the author says he has studied and compared. Parts I. and II. consist of a collection of tables and lists of numbers, losses, organizations, and events, variously and elaborately arranged and indexed, in part taken from other books, and in part gathered from the records by the author's research. Part III., covering 770 pages, consists of original historical work of much importance, the result of the author's great industry in research and method in arrangement. It will be of great value to students of history. It consists of a concise statement for each regiment and lesser unit, of the date when and place where its existence began and ended, the parts of the army to which it belonged and the territory in which it served, at the different periods minutely defined, the different engagements, movements, and operations in which it took part, and its losses from battle and other causes. This great narrative, covering the service of more than 2700 regiments and lesser units, is a fitting epilogue for the great historic tragedy outlined in the preceding list of events, tables, and indexes, in which are set forth the enlistment of more than 2,000,000 men, the organization of twenty-six army corps of four score divisions and more than three hundred brigades, and their distribution among armies, or territorially in military divisions, departments, and districts; a list of 1750 commanders of these various organizations, from brigade and district upward; a loss of nearly 360,000 men; and a list of several thousand engagements and other hostile operations; and the number killed and wounded in (as we learn from Fox's *Regimental Losses*) more than 1700 of 1981 regiments (Phisterer's count). Some of these tables and lists are taken from prior publications, to which value is lent in this volume by the author's collation of them with the other matter including much of his authorship. It is greatly to be regretted that the omission of citations of book and page for the origin of the statements in the text diminishes the usefulness and authority of this book. The space for them might well have been spared from the Regimental Index which covers 250 pages of part I. with the repetition of matter fully set forth in the text of the Regimental Histories.

In part I. a list of regiments and lesser units by states is followed by a numerical and tabulated summary of them. According to this summary there were in service 2494 regiments, 126 battalions, and 939 companies (equal in all to 2621 regiments), against 1981 regiments, 498 companies, and 232 batteries given in Phisterer's *Statistical Record*, equal in all to 2047 regiments. Comparison of our author's list with his *Regimental Histories* betrays twice counting of regiments which bore two names, and counting some which, never having been completed, did not become a part of the army. On the other hand, there are instances of the omission of some which appear in the *Official Records*, for example, 1st Colorado Cavalry, Militia, 1st East Florida, 1st State Capital Guards of Kentucky, but a cursory view does not disclose enough of such omissions to seriously impair the authority of the volume under review.

A table in part I., from Fox's *Regimental Losses*, gives 2,677,079 as the number of men in the army. This should be reduced probably by 500,000 for repeated enlistments by individuals. The statement in the Statistical Exhibit that the deaths in Southern prisons were 29,498 should be qualified by the remark published by the adjutant-general with this Exhibit in 1885 to the effect that this is less than the actual number, as the record of those in twelve prisons is missing, and that of five others is only partial. This Exhibit discloses, in the record of 4944 deaths from drowning and 5114 from other accidents, the fact that war has serious hazards besides those of battle and disease.

Our author enlarges Fox's list of 300 "fighting regiments" by adding apparently from his List of Regiments and their Losses 600 which lost fifty or more killed and mortally wounded.

A series of ample indexes of campaigns, battles, etc., covering 410 pages, includes a tabular statement of the number of campaigns, battles, etc., in each state, a table of battle losses in each state, an alphabetical list of all battles and other hostile movements with their dates, a similar one for each state followed by a chronological list with the nature of the event and the troops participating. The events are classified as campaigns, battles, engagements, combats, actions, assaults, skirmishes, operations, sieges, raids, expeditions, reconnaissances, scouts, affairs, occupations, captures. They number 10,455 as against about 8700 events named in the *Official Records Index*. It is obvious that these are numbers of the items in the lists rather than events, for it is evident that there is double counting, as in the case of a battle included in a campaign each of which is an item. The index to Phisterer's *Statistical Record* of battles and engagements contains 2240 names, but the list of battle losses in the book under review includes a little less than 2000 names. Seventy-six of the events are designated as battles while Phisterer names 150 battles in which the Union loss was over 500. These comparisons serve to show rather the comprehensiveness of the book under review than to point out defects which will in any impor-

tant particular mislead the student who uses its great array of facts. The work is a valuable addition to the literature of the Civil War.

Social and Industrial Conditions in the North during the Civil War.

By EMERSON DAVID FITE, Ph.D., Assistant Professor of History in Yale University. (New York: The Macmillan Company. 1910. Pp. vii, 318.)

THIS book is a distinct and valuable contribution to the history of the period. The mass of facts hitherto unclassified by historians is enormous. The absence of a bibliography renders it difficult to determine what sources the author has exhausted, but the foot-notes reveal those which he has found profitable. Especially commendable is the abundant use of periodical literature, and in particular of religious papers. State publications seem to have been somewhat neglected, and personal material almost entirely. In general, the facts, admirably arranged, are left to tell their own story, but there are a few passages of brilliant comment. The scope of the work is broad, extending from labor-unions (pp. 204-212) to the Yale-Harvard boat-race of 1864 (pp. 266-267). There are chapters on agriculture, mining and lumbering, transportation, manufacturing, commercial life, capital, labor, public improvements, education, luxuries and amusements, and charity. The greatest contributions seem to be the study of the European market for American food stuffs (pp. 97-123), which has previously appeared in much the same form in Mr. Fite's article in the *Quarterly Journal of Economics*, XX. 259-278; the description of the movement into the interior mining regions (pp. 36-41); the discussion of the plans for a Mississippi-Atlantic canal (pp. 48-54); and the chapters on capital and labor.

It is difficult to sever a period like that of the Civil War from those before and after it. Mr. Fite has cut the knot, and is scarcely ever led either backward or forward, though many questions are obviously handled with present-day conditions in mind. This lack of a standard of comparison is apt to mislead the general reader, especially in the discussion of immigration and the chapter on public improvements, but, of course, will not affect the better informed. The topical arrangement of chapters, moreover, creates an impression of uniformity, dulling the sense of development during the period, and of the varying conditions in different parts of the country. It was, however, the proper method to adopt, and Mr. Fite has handled it with great skill, except, perhaps, that the Ohio Valley does not sufficiently stand out as an important unit, separate in circumstance and interest.

Mr. Fite takes "for granted the reader's knowledge of the existence of the shifting paper standard of values" (p. vi), and so handles the subject that no confusion arises on that score. Without any such explanation, the tariff is equally neglected. This omission seriously affects certain portions of the book. To treat government contracts as

the "greatest of all incentives" for the expansion of manufactures (p. 96) is to leave one utterly unprepared for their continued growth during Reconstruction. It is difficult to think of any economic feature of our life so essentially bound up with the war as this. This omission, perhaps, led to disregard of the important difference in the rise of prices of agricultural and of manufactured goods, which gave the East a disproportionate share of the prosperity of the time, and, as wages rose less than either, afforded opportunity for the accumulation of that capital, the use and abuse of which is described in the chapters on transportation, mining, charity, and amusement. Mr. Fite treats the rise of prices rather cavalierly. The statement that "The rich man could afford cotton at any price, and for those of moderate means there were woolens, silks, and other fabrics", if not made humorously, recalls Marie Antoinette. It seems to the reviewer that Mr. Fite has gone too far in denying the hardness of the times. There is something of the method of the smoothed curve, applied in this case to a period where personal variation was at the maximum. Even if half the army consisted of boys of twenty-two or under, the vast majority had been at work, and for hundreds of thousands of families, in a period of rising prices and economic change, bounties and pay could not make up their loss. In discussing the problem of labor supply, Mr. Fite distinctly overestimates the importance of agricultural labor-saving devices (pp. 6-8). The numbers which he himself gives are entirely inadequate to accomplish the ends he assigns them, and machinery, as yet, performed but few of the farm services. As a matter of fact, purely agricultural counties reached their maximum population about 1870. Child labor, the importance of which is so clearly brought out in statistics of school attendance, is not adequately treated.

The book seems singularly free from errors. The only one observed was that of attributing to the Mormons of this period a method of migration (p. 35) which they had abandoned after disastrous failure a few years before.

CARL RUSSELL FISH.

The Last American Frontier. By FREDERIC LOGAN PAXSON, Junior
Professor of American History in the University of Michigan.
(New York: The Macmillan Company. 1910. Pp. xi, 402.)

By "the last American frontier" is meant the area beyond the first tier of states west of the Mississippi River, the traditional "Great American Desert". In the present work the author recounts the struggle for this frontier, which he regards as extending in one form or another from 1821 to 1885. Because the book is written in an easy, readable style, catching somewhat of the picturesque atmosphere of the West, one is inclined to overlook a tendency to phrase-making which sometimes leads the author astray. For example, to the frontiersman Indians were no better than "wild beasts"—it would seem of doubtful

propriety for a writer of the present day to adopt such a term, even in metaphor, without qualification or explanation (p. 15)—or again, “the ingenious Jefferson” (p. 18) hardly seems a fair characterization.

In one of the series of *Stories from American History*, which the author has specifically stated in his preface as “not primarily intended for the use of scholars”, too much cannot be exacted. Statements of individual (separate) facts are reasonably accurate, but detailed facts have little place in a work of four hundred pages covering such a large subject, and there are too many general statements that are carelessly made, while some of the generalizations are superficial if not distinctly inaccurate. The introductory chapter is open to most serious criticism in this regard.

For one who is not familiar with the field, the author has rendered a service by presenting in an interesting way subjects that invite to further study, and by devoting six pages to a Note on the Sources. There is a danger, however, that the period covered is so extensive and the space limitation so evident that the professedly sketchy treatment has involved an assumption of a knowledge of facts and conditions unwarranted in the case of the general reader.

For one who has studied the various subjects which are gathered together in this book—routes of travel, means of transportation, westward movement of population, Indian relations, with some consideration of mining—there is little that is new. In fact, the omissions are the more noticeable feature. The influence of Linn’s Bill upon emigration to Oregon, and of the coast trade upon the occupation of California, are illustrations of this in minor matters. But more important is the neglect of larger topics such as the public-land policy, the territorial system, cattle-ranching, and prairie farming, without which an understanding of the subject seems impossible.

The impression gained from reading this book is that the author is trying out his own ideas, and the impression is confirmed by his statement in the preface that he hopes “before many years to exploit in a larger and more elaborate form the mass of detailed information upon which this sketch is based”. The question then inevitably presents itself as to whether there is any such unity in the subject as the author believes to exist. The reviewer thinks there is not. While it may be possible to tell the story of the last frontier in a single connected account, it would seem better to concentrate attention upon the period following the Civil War, and to take other factors into consideration than to attempt to interpret in a one-sided way some of the many elements which are involved in our history between 1821 and 1885.

MAX FARRAND.

History of the Great American Fortunes. By GUSTAVUS MYERS. Volume I., Part I. *Conditions in Settlement and Colonial Times*; Part II. *The Great Land Fortunes.* Volume II. *Great Fortunes from Railroads.* (Chicago: Charles H. Kerr and Company. 1910. Pp. 296; 368.)

THESE volumes, by the author of a valuable history of Tammany Hall and of other works bearing on the municipal history of New York, though nominally a history of the great fortunes amassed in the United States in the nineteenth century, are in reality a socialistic tract, the title of which would better read "The Crimes of the Rich"; it is a vast tirade against rich men, uniformly expressed in excellent literary style and generally interesting, but at the same time gossipy, abusive, one-sided, and discursive, and for purposes of sound scholarship the whole might easily be compressed into one-third its present bulk. The author's actual contributions to historical knowledge, however, despite his prejudices, are considerable. On the subject of the accumulation of wealth, he has produced what promises to be, when completed, a more or less useful study of a century's development. Beginning in volume I. with a brief consideration of the large colonial estates in Virginia, New York, and New England, and especially of the corrupt land grants of Governor Fletcher of New York, he passes to the rise of the trading class and then to the shipping industry. Of the great captains in this latter class, Stephen Girard is taken as a type. By luck, by "roughshod" methods, by "bribery and intimidation", this "solitary Croesus" became the "Dictator of Finance" in the early years of the republic. The story is told in detail. But with even greater minuteness the author relates the inception of the Astor fortune and of the great city estates in general. This is the best part of the volume. By virtue of a monopoly of the fur-trade in the Middle West, the American Fur Company, through debauching the Indians and outrageous violations of the law, brought Astor enormous profits. He entered the shipping trade; by corruption, he gained from city officials valuable water-front rights in New York; he entered banking and in the panic of 1837 continued prosperous by buying up and foreclosing the mortgages of the helpless masses. Law was now the most valuable asset of the capitalist class; "with the millions made by a career of crime the original Astors buy land; they get more land by fraud; the law throws its shield about the property so obtained." In the same spirit, though with less detail, the Goelet, Rhineland, Schermerhorn, Longworth, and Field fortunes are examined.

Volume II., which on the whole is decidedly inferior to the preceding volume, is devoted to the great railroad fortunes, notably those of the Vanderbilt and Gould families. There is, at the outset, a review of the sale of public lands in the United States, which cannot be rated anything but a hodgepodge of all the corruption and scandal on the subject that the author could find; the reader, who would appreciate a

well-considered survey of the nation's land laws or at least a reference to their beneficent results, finds only the superficial, rambling, and unconvincing work of the muck-raker, set forth in the language of a socialist. The history of Cornelius Vanderbilt is then approached with the text, "ninety millions in fifteen years"; the achievement of this man is reckoned the amazing feature of his generation. But "far below him, in point of possessions, stretched the 50,000,000 individuals who made up the nation's population. Nearly 10,000,000 were wage laborers, and of the 10,000,000 fully 500,000 were child laborers. . . . How immeasurably puny they all seemed beside Vanderbilt." The growth of the Vanderbilt transportation system is gradually unfolded, every exciting crisis in the story portrayed, the shrewdness, the brutality, the rascality, and the criminal success of the strong man at the head—three pages of rant to one of history. The various railroad consolidations engineered by Vanderbilt are described with no appreciation of the economic advantages thereby secured and with no estimate of the contemporary consolidation movement in general. The army contract frauds are treated with some detail.

The chapters on Jay Gould include the looting of the Erie, the famous gold conspiracy of 1869, and the Credit Mobilier frauds on the Union Pacific Railroad; meagre references are here made to the conditions in the labor world in the seventies and early eighties.

To the serious student of American history the most valuable part of the two volumes is the notes, which contain references to many official documents. The text, although containing much information, is so interlarded with rant as to be disappointing. A volume, the tenor of which is to create social unrest by inculcating hatred of the rich, though readable on every page, cannot rank high as serious history.

EMERSON DAVID FITE.

A History of Norwegian Immigration to the United States, from the Earliest Beginning down to the Year 1848. By GEORGE T. FLOM, Ph.D., Professor of Scandinavian Languages and Literatures and Acting Professor of English Philology, State University of Iowa. (Iowa City, Iowa: 1909. Pp. 407.)

IN the significant number of new books dealing in serious and scholarly fashion with different foreign elements in American life, this volume by Professor Flom will fill an honorable place. Its aim is to present the progress of immigration from Norway to this country during the first period of Norwegian settlement which ended about 1848. Six of the forty-two chapters of the book are based upon the author's excellent articles on the Scandinavians published in the *Iowa Journal of History and Politics* in 1905, but it cannot be said that the book even with its evidence of prolonged, sympathetic, patient research is six times as valuable as the articles. The author's father and grandfather were among the immigrants to Wisconsin in 1844, and his filial

and pious zeal has enabled him to gather and present an unequalled mass of detailed information regarding the beginnings of the various early settlements in Illinois, Wisconsin, Missouri, and Iowa, and the movements of the pioneer settlers, their families, and their descendants.

A captious critic might be inclined to doubt whether the author has a clear conception of the difference between genealogical notes and tables on the one hand, and well-ordered, convincing historical material on the other. The present bulky volume is so like a combination of passenger-list, obituary notice, and gazetteer that its real contributions to knowledge of the Northwest may possibly be obscured; many a page enumerates twenty-five names, and one passes forty; the seventeen pages of chapter xxxvii. contain nothing but the names and dates in one church register for the years from 1844 to 1850; while the only index in the volume is an alphabetical list, seventeen pages long, of the names of persons mentioned in the book.

The soundest and most valuable chapters are those dealing with the causes of emigration from Norway (II., VI.-VIII.), quoting from letters, interviews, and books by early immigrants; with economic conditions—not effects—of immigration, such as routes, means of transportation, and expenses (xxvi.); and with the survey of Norwegian settlement in this early period (xlii.). The author's method of treatment precludes the possibility of literary charm, but it cannot excuse his many repetitions, frequent backward-and-forward allusions, and queer not to say ungrammatical use of English, such as "pensionist" for pensioner (p. 40), "of which more below" (p. 51), and "cash money" (p. 83). Now and then he makes partial escape from the slavery to names and tells a clear and direct story, as in his account of the establishment of the Koshkonong settlements in Dane County, Wisconsin (chs. xviii.-xix.), and of the movement of Norwegians into Iowa (chs. xxi., xli.). The foot-notes are chiefly genealogical, and exact references sometimes irritating and inexcusably lacking. One might forego knowledge of the fact that Endre Vraa paid Gunnar Mandt's passage to America, if he could know where certain long quotations, like those on pages 200 and 202, could be found, or the authority for the statement that the average age in Norway is fifty years while in Italy it is thirty-five, with corresponding difference in expectancy (p. 21).

In spite of these defects, this volume will have high value to students of immigration in the nineteenth century who wish to understand the motives, influences, and difficulties of Teutonic emigrants from Europe, acting under normal conditions, and it is to be hoped that Professor Flom will carry on his work to a point where he may be able to express a broad and seasoned judgment regarding the larger and more permanent effects of the Norwegian immigration of the last eighty years.

KENDRIC C. BABCOCK.

Chinese Immigration. By MARY ROBERTS COOLIDGE, Ph.D. [American Public Problems Series, edited by Ralph Curtis Ringwalt.] New York: Henry Holt and Company. 1909. Pp. x, 531.)

IN this volume Mrs. Coolidge discusses the phases of the Chinese problem leading up to the Exclusion Act of 1882, the treaty relations between China and the United States, the amendment and the administration of the Exclusion law, and the life and labor of the Chinese in California. Statistical tables showing the estimated number of Chinese in the United States and California at different times and a good brief bibliography are added.

Chinese Immigration is difficult to review fairly for while it has much merit, it invites, even compels, much adverse criticism. The writing of the volume has involved the examination of a large amount of widely scattered data, much of it not easily accessible. The book brings together a great many of these data and must therefore be regarded as an important contribution to the literature of the subject. Yet the author is decidedly pro-Chinese in her sympathies and these are so strong that scientific interest seems to have been sacrificed to some extent. Because of this the assignment of motives (particularly to trade-unionists and the Irish in explaining the anti-Chinese movement) seems at times unfair, while the weighing of the data collected is frequently faulty. Good examples of the latter are found in the analyses (chs. vi. and vii.) of the reports of committees appointed to investigate the subject of Chinese immigration. This bias leads also to numerous remarks concerning the Italians and other races—remarks frequently if not generally unwarranted by the facts (ch. xxii.). The Italians and Portuguese, for example, have given an excellent account of themselves in the agricultural communities of California. This same strong sympathy and the feeling that the Chinese have been unfairly treated (as they doubtless have been to a certain extent) lead the author to make a great many exaggerated if not erroneous statements concerning the social and economic loss resulting from Chinese exclusion. Nor are Mrs. Coolidge's methods always above criticism. A good instance is found in her discussion of the influence of Chinese competition on wages. She relies upon comparisons with wages paid elsewhere and does not trace out the race and wage changes in the given industry. Her results would have been different had she traced in this way the effects of Chinese competition in shoe factories, in cigar factories, in maintenance of way on the railroads, and elsewhere. Nor is she, in her evident desire to remove every possible objection to the Chinese, entirely consistent. To cite only one example, the author states (p. 389) that the Chinese are not and were not "cheap labor", yet in chapter xix. she argues that it was only because of the possibility of employing cheap Chinese labor that certain branches of manu-

facture could have been started, or, when started, could have survived in California.

Were a general statement desired, the reviewer would say that as a history of legislative enactments the book is good, that as a statement of conditions in California it is weak, that as a criticism of the administration of the law it is harsh, that as a comparison between Chinese and certain other races it is decidedly more favorable to the former than the facts warrant.

In closing it may be well to call attention to defects probably due to hurried revision for publication. One interesting instance is found in the percentages given in the table on page 305.

But in spite of such shortcomings as those pointed out, the book is a contribution of no little importance to the literature relating to Asiatic immigration.

H. A. MILLIS.

The Life of Mary Baker G. Eddy and the History of Christian Science. By GEORGINE MILMINE. (New York: Doubleday, Page, and Company. 1909. Pp. xiv, 495.)

STARTING as an exposé of Eddyism in *McClure's Magazine* these popular articles have developed into an extensive life of Mrs. Eddy and a respectable history of Christian Science. The book's value lies in two points—its searching analysis of a woman by a woman, and its unearthing of such new materials as the testimony in the Massachusetts courts, the early advertisements as a mental healer, and the reproduction of certain manuscripts akin to the primitive teachings. In tracing the life of Mary Baker Glover Eddy there is offered a lively account of an abnormal child, invalid, healer, propagandist, and supreme head of a sect numbering some fifty thousand adherents. Although the author shows that the child was subject from early years to convulsive attacks of an hysterical nature, she fails to do justice to the persistent pathological strain in the life of the founder of Christian Science. The latter's interest in the curative principle in mesmerism, her susceptibility to suggestion, her "clairvoyant" powers, and her "spiritual" mediumship would furnish valuable data to one familiar with abnormal psychology. These data would go far to explain the subject's treatment for spinal trouble under the magnetic healer P. P. Quimby, the automatic character of many of the "prophetic" messages of the high priestess of the cult, and more than all her lifelong obsession on the subject of "malicious animal magnetism".

Unfortunately the writer assumes the popular view that subjective hallucinations have little reality, while there is something objectively real in telepathy. She fails to see the significance of that temperamental quality which compelled the "divine" healer to take on the ills and perplexities of her patients, as when treating her nephew for the habit of smoking Mrs. Eddy herself felt the desire to smoke. In a

word this form of hypochondria could develop into the fixed idea of persecution by "mental malpractice". The latter is spoken of as being developed by chance; the truth is that such an essential doctrine, the present principle of evil for Christian Scientists, has not only a personal but an historical basis. Other hysterics have been possessed with the fear of being poisoned from afar. Mesmer himself believed in the "magnetization" of inanimate objects such as trees and tractors. The author's knowledge of occultism and black art is meagre, nevertheless she gives a lifelike portrait of one suffering from a not unusual form of persecutory hallucination. From the autobiographical *Introspection and Retrospection*, from the third edition of *Science and Health*, and from the minutes of the "P. M." (Private Meeting), there are cited the "mental arsenic" poisoning of Mrs. Eddy's secretary, Arens, the "death thought" which carried off her second husband, and the "mesmerized" water-pipes, wash-boilers, and lamp-posts whose silent and subtle emanations drove the distracted priestess from Boston to Concord, from Concord to her present hiding-place.

This book does not make enough of the intimate internal evidence of a personality suffering from hysteria, hypochondria, and the delusion of persecution. However, the more palpable external evidence is given a connected and consistent treatment. The years between 1844 and 1866 are called the lost years, for it is this part of her career that Mrs. Eddy has sought to blot out of the official publications. But while the Quimby controversy is here given full scrutiny, yet, as in the case of the apologists for Christian Science, it does not seem to occur that the relative priority of the teachings of the magnetic healer of Maine and the head of the Massachusetts Metaphysical College is a false issue. The parallels drawn by partizans do not necessarily betoken plagiarisms, but a mutual borrowing from common sources. In searching for sources, however, it might be pointed out that Miss Milmine's materials bear a strong resemblance to certain investigations originally made by the reviewer. I have shown elsewhere (*Psychological Review*, November, 1903) that Quimbyism and Eddyism have verbal similarities with the teachings of contemporary itinerant magnetizers like Charles Poyen, J. B. Dods, and Andrew Jackson Davis, but Miss Milmine has not seen fit to acknowledge these investigations. A similar carelessness—which Christian Scientists will doubtless note—is shown in the neglect to give the time, place, author, and audience of several documents. A glaring instance is given in appendix C, in "a statement in a personal letter".

While this volume is unsatisfactory in its treatment of the more intimate and difficult problems of neuropathy and origins, it is not so in its account of the public career of Mrs. Eddy. New and valuable details are presented as to the vicissitudes of the new sect: the gaining of early disciples and their disagreements and lawsuits, as in the "conspiracy to murder" case; the organization of the First Church of Christ, Scientist, and the Schism of the New Thoughters in 1888; the

starting of the class in "mental obstetrics" and its suppression by the state authorities; the publication of the first three editions of *Science and Health* and the subsequent recensions through J. H. Wiggin as literary adviser; the reconstruction of the "Mother Church" and the exclusion of Mrs. Woodbury, "virgin" mother of the "Prince of Peace"; the tentative adoption of the principle of Mrs. Eddy as feminine incarnation of the deity; and the recent disciplining of Mrs. Stetson. All these data are admirably presented, but the writer's air of astonishment over the Massachusetts Mother's claims to monopolistic inspiration, prophetic gifts, and divine origin, might have been lessened if she had been more familiar with local sectaries.

She treats in an appendix of Mother Ann Lee of New Hampshire, but she draws no parallels between Eddyism and Mormonism, although Joseph Smith as founder of the Latter Day Saints also had his "divine" cures, continuous "revelations", and home-made "key" to the Scriptures.

In fine, this book, though it lacks historic background, nevertheless offers a strangely interesting human document. Mrs. Eddy is more than a personality, she is a type. Given the free field of a democracy she illustrates the possibilities of a shrewd combination of religion, mental medicine, and money. Neurotic yet of indomitable will, illiterate yet of high imaginative power, illogical yet of great business ability, there is here presented the extraordinary spectacle of a career progressing from mean surroundings, through painful invalidism, to successful supremacy.

I. WOODBRIDGE RILEY.

The Life and Letters of James Wolfe. By BECKLES WILLSON.
(London: William Heinemann. 1909. Pp. xiv, 522.)

CONCERNING Wolfe's place in history there has been much discussion. And the question is not solved by this book. Although Mr. Willson has printed a large number of letters in this volume, he does not appear to have the historian's grasp, either of materials or events, to render his work of much service to the serious student. In the preface he asserts that he is fully conscious of the responsibility he has incurred in giving the letters to the world in an unabridged form—that Wolfe is thereby exposed to "the misapprehensions and the censure of minds little accustomed to appraise genius". When Wolfe's letters to Rickson were published in 1849, the editor omitted passages therefrom fearing that the free style of the writer might give offense. An examination of the original letters in Edinburgh was sufficient to show that nothing had been gained by the suppression. Nor do we think that "the censure of those little accustomed to appraise genius" would have been an adequate excuse on the part of the present editor for a wholesale expurgation of the correspondence. "Litera scripta manet", writes Mr. Willson; but to him the words convey a strange meaning, since in the

examples we shall cite not only essential portions of letters but their distinguishing characteristics have disappeared without any indication of the fact to the reader. Thus in the letter to Rickson, dated December 1, 1758, the text of the original in Edinburgh differs materially from the version presented by Mr. Willson on page 402, *e. g.*, besides changes in punctuation and spelling, "were" is changed to "are", "the defeat" to "this defeat". The sentence "uncommon diligence and activity and unparallel'd Batoe Knowledge", is replaced by merely two words, "bat-tue knowledge", and thirty-three words at the end of the letter are omitted.

Another instance on page 446 may be cited as an example of the author's carelessness. "On July 5 Wolfe issued the following orders—Camp at the Island of Orleans. The object of the campaign", etc. In the original order there are nearly one hundred words before the paragraph with which Mr. Willson begins his quotation, and in the second paragraph a sentence is left out.

One object before Mr. Willson in writing this book was "to clarify the account of the Quebec campaign". His efforts have been singularly unfortunate. The clarifying process begins on page 421. In the first line there is a mistake. "Wolfe, when he sailed from Spit-head on the 14th of February", etc. According to the log of the *Neptune*, which we accept as a more reliable authority, Wolfe sailed on the 17th. In order to show the importance of the army commanded by Wolfe over the navy commanded by Saunders, Mr. Willson considers "it is as well to understand at the outset just what the Admiral's place and functions were in the Quebec expedition." "Chatham's instructions to Amherst show that he attached the chief value to the army commanded by Wolfe, and that Admiral Saunders was merely to co-operate with Wolfe" (p. 422). Saunders, however, according to the author, had other designs from the moment he sailed, for "when an order came for Saunders from Chatham" to detach the *Stirling Castle*, the crafty admiral substituted another vessel as she "was handy for rivers", thus showing "that he then expected to sail up the St. Lawrence and actually second Wolfe, and not merely cover Wolfe's army and keep control of the communications".

It was the obvious duty of Saunders to second Wolfe's efforts and to co-operate with him. The secret instructions of the king to Wolfe dated February 5, 1759, are very clear on this point. There was no question in the mind of either the king, of "Chatham", of Amherst, or of Saunders as to the superiority of either arm of the service in the campaign. Quebec was to be attacked and reduced by the United Service, and it would have been impossible for either arm to have accomplished it alone.

After having shown, on page 422, that the duty of Saunders was to cover Wolfe's army and not to second his efforts, Mr. Willson makes the extraordinary statement on page 435, "Although the situation was

not fortunate in one respect, in another it was more than Wolfe had ever dared expect. He had won Saunders over to a co-operation between sea and land forces as perfect as it could be, more perfect than it had ever been in any previous expedition. The Admiral's thoughts and resources were not to be primarily (as Wolfe had once feared) with Halifax and Louisbourg, to cover the rear of the army, but he and his ships were to be at the General's right hand. . . . Saunders, too, it appeared, was a fighting man, and agreed to accompany Wolfe with his entire battle squadron to the walls of the fortress which Wolfe meant should be taken." Why it should be necessary for Wolfe to persuade the admiral to do something which he was instructed to do, and had, according to Mr. Willson, expressed the intention of doing (p. 422), we are left in ignorance.

On page 435 the author attempts to make a point out of an intercepted despatch from Amherst delivered by Bougainville to Montcalm. "But for the timely information Montcalm thus received he would have been unable to make his preparations, and Wolfe, instead of the long and dreary task before him, might have fallen on the enemy's weak point and won victory in July instead of September."

It is exceedingly doubtful whether the despatch had much influence on Montcalm's action. Bougainville did not arrive in Quebec until May 10, and before the missive was in the hands of Montcalm, then in Montreal, a courier was hastening to Quebec with the alarming intelligence that fourteen ships were in the St. Lawrence within forty leagues of Quebec. These were the ships of Durell. It was the reception of these tidings that spurred Montcalm to the task of fortifying the Beauport heights.

Before Wolfe sailed from England he had in his possession an excellent plan of Quebec and a detailed account of the defensive works of the city which had been prepared for him the year before by Major Mackellar from personal observation. Nevertheless, he found the situation different from what he expected. He had written a short time before his arrival at Quebec that he expected to attack the French position at the mouth of the St. Charles River, but a single glance at the heights of Beauport must have convinced him of the impracticability of such an attempt. No one would accuse Wolfe of want of boldness, but one would hesitate to impute to him the madness suggested by this paragraph (p. 445): "The safety of the fleet depended upon the strength of Pointe d'Orleans and Point Lévis; but it was from a third point that Wolfe was resolved to make his chief onset. This was Beauport. . . . Wolfe thus laid himself open to the charge of splitting up his small force." Beauport was the centre of the French camp, the headquarters of Montcalm. It was from Montmorency and not from Beauport that Wolfe resolved to make the attack. Referring to the disaster at Montmorency (p. 463), the author quotes the passage from a secondary authority: "'This failure caused a temporary abatement of the enthusi-

astic regard in which Wolfe was held by officers and soldiers alike.' There is nothing whatever to justify such an assertion. Wolfe's general orders sufficiently explained the cause of the disaster to all. The Grenadiers were alone to blame." It is not necessary to cite any secondary source in support of the assertion. James Gibson, writing to Governor Lawrence on the day after the event, uses these words: "The number of the wounded, more particularly officers, made it necessary for them to retreat, which they did as regularly and soldier-like as they advanced, at least we generally think so here, notwithstanding the cruel aspersion the inclosed paper threw on them 2 days after the action, and which disgusted every man who was an eye-witness of such gallantry as, perhaps, is not to be paralled. . . . The attempt was, I had said, impracticable, which some general officers scarcely hesitated to say, one of them of Knowledge, Fortune and Interest, I have heard has said that the attack *then* and *there* was contrary to the advice and opinion of every officer, and when things come to this you'll judge what the event may be!" These are not the utterances of men who have confidence in their leader.

The Grenadiers blundered it is true; but it was a hazardous plan which depended upon the successful working of many combinations. "In none of these circumstances", to quote the words of Wolfe, "the essential matter resides. The great fault of that day consists in putting too many men into the boats, who might have been landed the day before, and might have crossed the falls with certainty, while a small body only remained to float; and the superfluous boats of the fleet employed in a feint that might divide the enemy's force. A man sees his error often too late to remedy it."

Instances might be multiplied of gross carelessness, and we do not consider that Mr. Willson has rendered any service to history in his attempts to clarify the account of the Quebec campaign. Until we have an opportunity to collate other letters of Wolfe we hesitate to offer any further opinion on his merit in the capacity of an editor.

Porfirio Diaz, President of Mexico: the Master Builder of a Great Commonwealth. By JOSÉ F. GODOY. (New York and London: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1910. Pp. xii, 253.)

THE author of this book has been connected with the diplomatic service of Mexico for many years and is now filling the post of minister to Cuba. By his foreign residence and training he has been well prepared to write a dispassionate biography of his great countryman. While his work is well done, it is plain that his narrative has been written under the limitations of his official position.

He adheres very closely to his subject, *The Master Builder of a Great Commonwealth*. Only four pages are devoted to his parentage, youth, and education, and in the compass of about twenty pages he covers the entire period of General Diaz's services in the important

War of the Reform, the French intervention, and his brilliant military career. The greater part of the work is taken up with an account of his administration as president, extending through the long period of thirty years. It may well be characterized as the most comprehensive and intelligent statement yet published of the great work of this statesman, which has given uninterrupted peace to the hitherto distracted country and wrought a complete transformation in finance, commerce, and society. This is made more vivid by profuse illustrations and maps of public buildings erected, harbor improvements, railroad construction, the wonderful growth of the capital, etc. Judicious extracts are made from the messages of the president to the National Congress, one of the most notable of these being his utterance on the Monroe Doctrine, showing that he is not inclined to recognize the hegemony of the United States.

One of the most interesting chapters is the Private Life of President Diaz, in which his exemplary character is pleasingly portrayed, the charming personality of his wife revealed, and the curtain lifted on his home life, habits, and recreations. We also find the work illustrated with not less than eleven portraits of the president in all stages and positions of his life; and with three of Mrs. Diaz, but unfortunately the latter fail to give an adequate idea of her charms.

Instances may be cited showing the limitations under which the author writes. At the restoration of the republican government following the French intervention, he states that General Diaz, "like Cincinnatus", retired to his small farm in his native state; but he omits the fact that he was at outs with President Juarez, and the next eight years or more in which he was engaged in conspiracy or revolutionary movements are passed over with very brief notice and the explanation that "it would take too long to rehearse" the causes. The Vera Cruz conspiracy of 1877 against the Diaz government is referred to as at one time very dangerous, but the ringleaders being "hastily condemned to death and executed, the severity and promptness of their sentence struck terror among their fellow conspirators". We are not surprised to read that henceforth attempts against the Diaz government were confined to the American side of the frontier. The fact is not made prominent that the battle-cry of the various Diaz revolutions was the non-re-election of the president, but the author shows that the constitution was four times altered to meet the changing situations occasioned by the occupation of the presidency by General Diaz.

The chapter which presents a résumé of his administration is exceedingly well done; and that in which the author collects the opinions of prominent public men of the United States fully sustains the unstinted praise which he bestows on his hero. But notwithstanding the merits of this book and the many others which treat of this period of Mexican history, the real biography of this most unique character in Latin America is yet to be written, which shall contain an impartial narrative

of his defects and errors which are few, and of his beneficent achievements for his country and his race which are many.

Francisco de Miranda and the Revolutionizing of Spanish America.

By WILLIAM SPENCE ROBERTSON, Ph.D. (Washington: Government Printing Office. 1909. Pp. 189-539.)

THIS essay is noteworthy as an attempt to unravel some part of the tangled skein of intrigues and negotiations in which South Americans and Europeans were involved prior to the war for the emancipation of Spanish America. It deals with a subject hitherto only imperfectly examined; and this fact furnishes the author an opportunity to present topics concerning which few students of history have more than vague and superficial information. The larger question here entered upon is the relation of the European nations to the Spanish colonies in America, in view of the increasing dissatisfaction of the colonists with Spanish rule. The knowledge that Spain's vast American possessions were slipping from her grasp naturally excited a desire in some of the European nations to enter into this goodly heritage; still, as long as Spain's control was not actually repudiated by the colonists or relinquished by Spain herself, no nation appeared to be willing to be known as seeking to supplant Spanish authority. But underneath this outward respect for international conventions both England and France cherished a strong desire to participate in the salvage following the wreck of Spain's colonial system. The author of this essay has examined with care a great mass of documents containing evidence of this desire, and setting forth the work of Miranda in seeking especially to persuade the English government to assist the colonists in their proposed revolt and emancipation. In this part of his book he has brought together a large amount of information not otherwise readily accessible; and the contribution to this phase of Miranda's career is sufficiently interesting to lead the reader on, in spite of a style that in some parts has the crudeness of the notes which one makes directly from documents as a preliminary to a subsequent elaboration into a proper literary form.

The chapters dealing with the career of Miranda in Venezuela are evidently written to complete the story; they do not give evidence that the subject with which they deal is the preferred part of the writer's theme. The figure of Miranda appears here with his personal characteristics clearly set forth, but his background is not sufficiently developed. The excellence of the book would have been increased if the author had presented in clearer outlines the environment of Miranda during his activity in his native country. The Spanish-American hero of the war of emancipation is not properly comprehended except as he is seen against the peculiar conditions under which he lived and worked. In this account, we pass from Miranda's activity in London and Paris to his life in Venezuela without having brought clearly to our minds the thought that he had entered a new social atmosphere as far removed

from that of Europe as the east is from the west. It is not enough to give the series of events in the unfortunate experience of Miranda after his return from Europe. These explain nothing, and throw no important light on his successes or failures. We need to know his relation to the semi-savages who made up the mass of Venezuela's inhabitants; why he failed and Bolivar succeeded, when both had to do with the same unpromising popular elements. In a history of Miranda's diplomatic activity, these considerations might, perhaps, be omitted; but the history of a man who aspired to be a leader of his people ought to make clear wherein his leadership was wanting. The men of Venezuela in the days of Miranda were not different from those who, under Bolivar, left an imperishable record of daring and devotion to their leader.

Of Miranda as the advocate of South-American independence our author gives us an account which makes a strong impression on the mind; but there remains an opportunity and a need for further investigations into the career of Miranda in South America.

BERNARD MOSES.

Historia Constitucional de Venezuela. Por JOSÉ GIL FORTOUL. Tomo Primero. *La Colonia—La Independencia—La Gran Colombia.* Tomo Segundo. *La Oligarquía Conservadora—La Oligarquía Liberal.* (Berlin: Carl Heymann. 1907, 1909. Pp. xi, 570; xii, 558.)

AFTER publishing almost annually for ten years volumes of literature and philosophy, Dr. Fortoul brought out in 1896 an interesting work entitled *El Hombre y la Historia*. This was followed by a decade of silence and apparent inactivity. As a matter of fact, his attention having most fortunately been directed to the field of history, he was devoting himself with rare assiduity to the preparation of a history of the Venezuelan republic which should be at once modern, comprehensive, and scholarly. His plan calls for five volumes, commencing with a comparatively brief introduction covering the colonial period and ending with the administration of President Castro.

The two solid volumes which have appeared, bringing the narrative down to 1863, are characterized by qualities so unusual in the works of South American historians that they deserve special recognition and great praise. To find a Latin-American author writing the history of his country in a modest and dignified fashion, basing his results on extensive researches instead of vivid imagination, is not an every-day occurrence. But when the author turns out to be a Venezuelan *littérateur* and his work bears the marks of critical scholarship, the wonder is tenfold greater. The truth is, it has not been customary for us to think that any good thing could come out of the stricken land of Cipriano Castro. Travellers have frequently felt that it would have been far better for that land of magnificent fertile plains, whose agricultural and

pastoral possibilities are almost untouched, if Bolivar had not been able to overthrow Spain's dominion in northern South America. As this is the centennial year when celebrations of the Beginnings of Independence are being held all over Spanish America, it is peculiarly appropriate that we should at last have an opportunity of paying our respects to a really notable historian, the most deserving of distinction that Venezuela has produced. Indeed, no South American, outside of Chile, has given such good evidence of the possession of a well-trained, scholarly mind. Long residence in Berlin in an official capacity has given Dr. Fortoul an acquaintance with German scientific methods of which he has not been slow to take advantage. His work bears throughout the more desirable earmarks of German scholarship. The fact that he has succeeded in avoiding the kindred quality of being "dry-as-dust" may be due to an avowed fondness for fox-hunting, or it may merely be the result of an inherent racial tendency towards the picturesque. Whatever its cause, Dr. Fortoul has given us a most interesting and satisfactory account of the development of Venezuela as a state.

So far as one can judge, there has been extended and critical use of the sources. It is, however, a matter for regret that there is not more indication in the foot-notes of the author's authorities. It is to be hoped that the final volume will contain a full list of the books and papers which have been used. Otherwise, Dr. Fortoul's hope that his work will serve as "*una guía imparcial para el más exacto estudio de la evolución venezolana*" (I. xi) will not be so fully realized.

His introductory exposition of colonial history is as satisfactory as could be expected under the circumstances. He has made no pretense at digesting the enormous mass of manuscripts in the Archives of the Indies in Seville. They still await the specialist.

The story of the conflict with Spain, leading up to the acquisition of independence, occupies two hundred pages and shows an ability to consider this romantic epoch with a candor that is unusual in the annals of Spanish-American history. Hitherto, the history of the era of independence has frequently been marred by distinct partizan bias. And, furthermore, it has been written almost entirely from the military point of view. Although Dr. Fortoul does not deny the importance of military history and shows a good grasp of its essentials, he has not allowed himself to go into unnecessary details in his descriptions of the campaigns of Bolivar, Paez, and the other revolutionary heroes. While not neglecting the fortunes of war, he has performed the less dramatic but really more important task of following the course of Venezuelan society during and after the war. He has also given a clear exposition of the slow development of legislation and of the intellectual and economic aspects of the period. His judgments of men are remarkably fair and unprejudiced; possibly another result of his long absence from the country and his freedom from the unfortunate political disputes whose bitterness and acrimony have left their mark on so many native writers.

As an example of Dr. Fortoul's fair-mindedness, it is a pleasure to call attention to his efforts to rectify the injustice which former Venezuelan historians, notably Baralt and Larrazábal, have done to General Santander, that most distinguished Colombian soldier and statesman. It is worthy of note that a writer, who is no traducer of Bolivar's fame, should be able to call Santander: "Estadista eminente, correcto administrador, y patriota en toda ocasión" (I. 442).

In the third part of the first volume, under the title "La Gran Colombia", Dr. Fortoul has followed the course of Bolivar's famous confederation down to its dissolution and the death of its founder.

Throughout his work he lays great stress on legislation and the importance of a careful examination of the fundamental laws of the land. He believes that in them can be found the true tendency of each epoch, even when the laws were made only to be broken! The danger in this position he recognizes and has in a measure eliminated by taking pains to give a careful picture of the contemporary state of society and a faithful chronicle of events.

The second volume covers that most confused and confusing period from 1830 to 1863. Fortunately, about one-fifth of the volume is given over to a lucid exposition of Venezuelan foreign relations, a task for which Dr. Fortoul's diplomatic career has eminently fitted him.

In analyzing the various claims which were made by foreign nations against Venezuela before 1863, Dr. Fortoul has done the student of diplomatic history an important service. At the same time the author evidently feels keenly the fact that the European powers and the United States applied one kind of international law to their mutual relations and another, a "mezcla de doctrinas de equidad y procedimientos brutales" (II. 105), in their dealings with the Spanish-American republics. Nevertheless his attitude toward the errors of his own country and the actual status of "Liberty" is expressed without fear or favor. He rightly discerns that the Venezuelan oligarchy, preoccupied "con puras cuestiones de doctrinarismo político", disdained the more important work of "corrigiendo sus hereditarios defectos españoles y curando sus vicios crónicos" (II. 254-255).

No library which pretends to do more than supply South Americana in English and no student of Latin-American history and politics can afford to be without Dr. Fortoul's excellent work.

HIRAM BINGHAM.

MINOR NOTICES

Transactions of the Royal Historical Society. Third Series, Volume III. (London, The Society, 1909, pp. vii, 306). In recent volumes of these *Transactions* some valuable contributions have been made to chapters in the history of international relations of European powers bearing upon questions of American trade and diplomacy. In an important paper of this class in the present volume, Mr. H. W. V. Tem-

perley analyzes with great skill and thoroughness fresh evidence from English diplomatic records concerning the Causes of the War of Jenkins' Ear, 1739. He shows that while the illicit trade of the English in the West Indies, which was permitted by them to a far greater extent than by the French and Dutch, and the reprisals made against the English by the Spanish *guarda costas* were both genuine grievances, yet, as a result of mutual concessions, peace between these countries was almost assured at the conclusion of the Convention of the Pardo, in January, 1739. Within a few months thereafter, however, war was precipitated by the oratorical appeals to national prejudice of the Parliamentary opposition, the narrowly selfish conduct of the South Sea Company, and the suspicion of an alliance between Spain and France. Another paper bearing upon the international relations of England and Spain is contributed by Miss Leonora de Alberti and Miss A. B. Wallis Chapman under the title English Traders and the Spanish Inquisition in the Canaries during the Reign of Queen Elizabeth. The other contents of the volume are a paper by Professor C. H. Firth on the Ballad History of the Reigns of the Later Tudors, a sequel to his paper of last year; a valuable monograph by Mr. C. L. Kingsford on Sir Otho de Grandison, 1238?-1328, based in part on Public Record Office documents classified as Ancient Correspondence, some of which he prints in full; a discussion by the Rev. Clement E. Pike of the Origin of the *Regium Donum*, a pension which, in the reign of Charles II., began to be paid by the crown to the Presbyterian ministers in Ireland; a report of the proceedings of the society on the occasion of the bi-centenary commemoration of William Pitt, the earl of Chatham, together with the addresses delivered by the president of the society and by Mr. Frederic Harrison on this occasion; and the presidential address, in which the Rev. William Hunt reviews the historical activities of the society and its fellows during the preceding four years.

Wanderings in the Roman Campagna. By Rodolfo Lanciani. (Boston and New York, Houghton Mifflin Company, 1909, pp. xiii, 378.) This book is a companion volume to the author's other well-known works, issued by the same publishers, and like them it is intended for the general reader and not for students. Nevertheless, for its full enjoyment some knowledge of the subject is required, and a somewhat better acquaintance with the topography of Latium than most people possess. The titles of the chapters—the Land of Saturn, of Horace, of Hadrian, of Gregory the Great, of Cicero, of Pliny the Younger, and Nero—indicate the divisions of the district and of the book, but there is no attempt at any systematic treatment anywhere. No region in Italy is so fascinating in itself, so rich in legend and historic lore, and so powerful in its action on the imagination as the Roman Campagna, and its effects upon a susceptible spirit are as varied and remarkable as its own dissolving lights and shadows. It is per-

haps partly for this very reason that Lanciani, who has roamed the Campagna for so many years, and appreciates its charm so thoroughly, rambles at will and with no thought for method. No title ever fitted a book better. Thus the chapter on Tusculum is introduced by a five-page discussion of Cicero as a lawyer, and in the beginning of the chapter on the land of Pliny five pages are devoted to general comments on that interesting egotist.

There are many statements in the book that may be challenged, as the surprising information (p. 302) that "Pliny the Younger ranks next to Cicero in popularity as a writer." Gaionas, who has lately come into notice through the discoveries made in the grove of *Furina* on the *Janiculum*, is described (p. 171) as "certainly a busybody", who "gives himself great airs" and "unheard-of titles". In discussing the origin of *Praeneste* (p. 227) the author remarks that "Plautus names it among the cities of the *barbarians*", missing altogether the point of the joke. On page 355 the beautiful statue of a youth apparently defending himself, which was found at Subiaco, is unhesitatingly pronounced¹ to be one of the sons of Niobe, contrary to the accepted view, and it is said to have stood on the same block as the statue of the daughter of Niobe in the Vatican, although the latter is reported to have been found in the Villa of Hadrian. On page 8 Lanciani gives the number of *tenute* in the Campagna as about two hundred, a number which it is difficult to reconcile with the four hundred and twenty-eight in Tomassetti's list, even after making such subtractions as Lanciani indicates. He also says that the largest *tenuta*, that of Campo Morto, contains fifteen thousand acres, while Tomassetti allows only about six thousand and six hundred.

In spite of many errors in regard to matters of history and literature, the book appeals forcibly to those who have learned to love the beauty and associations of the Campagna, and will give them much pleasure, especially as it is superbly illustrated.

S. B. P.

Arresta Communia Scacaruii. Edited by Ernest Perrot. [Bibliothèque d'Histoire du Droit Normand, I.] (Caen, L. Jouan, 1910, pp. 152.) This volume, which deserves welcome as the first of a series of texts and monographs upon the history of Norman law announced to appear under the auspices of the law faculty of the University of Caen, is an edition of two important sets of decisions of the *Échiquier de Normandie*. While the extant registers of this court, preserved in a splendid series in the departmental archives at Rouen, begin with the year 1336, regular records of its proceedings were kept throughout the thirteenth century, and an admirable study of M. Delisle has brought together more than eight hundred cases decided before 1270. No one has yet attempted this task for the period of the later Capetians and the

¹ Following Brizio in *Ausonia*, I. 21.

first years of Philip VI., and until some scholar has the patience and skill to utilize for this purpose the local records and the surviving fragments of the vast archives of the *Chambre des Comptes*, our knowledge of the workings of the Norman tribunals must rest upon two private compilations from the *Exchequer registers*, covering between them the period from 1276 to 1294. These collections, more particularly the earlier of the two, were widely current in the later Middle Ages under the title *Arresta Communia Scacarii*, and they have been accessible to modern scholars only in the unsatisfactory form in which they were printed two generations ago by Lechaudé d'Anisy and by Warnkönig. M. Perrot offers us a critical edition, without commentary, based on a careful collation of the numerous manuscripts, and accompanied by a number of inedited cases taken from the marginal notes of the *coutumiers*. One of these glosses, the letter of the Norman prelates issued shortly before October, 1207, with reference to the procedure in suits respecting patronage, ought to have been printed from the sealed original in the Archives Nationales rather than from later copies; and M. Perrot's dating, based upon the lists in Gams, would have been improved if he had examined the evidence collected on this point by M. Delisle in his *Actes de Philippe-Auguste* (nos. 1049-1051).

C. H. H.

Études sur la Réforme Française. Par Henri Hauser, Professeur à l'Université de Dijon. (Paris, Alphonse Picard et Fils, 1909, pp. xv, 308.) The study of the history of the French Reformation has lagged behind that of Germany. It was not until modern French historical scholarship went to school to German methods that its history has been scientifically attempted. French pride has often repudiated the idea that the French Reformation owed its initial energy to Lutheranism and has cited Lefèvre d'Étaples and his associates as proof thereof. The new French school, however, is not so interested in the intellectual development of the Reformation in France as in its economic and social history, in which M. Henri Hauser and M. Imbart de la Tour, somewhat following the path blazed by Eberstadt, are pioneers. The little volume here reviewed is a collected series of seven essays published in various periodicals within late years, dealing chiefly with phases of the social history of the French Reformation.

The contrast in the distribution of Reformation activities in France and Germany is very great, though not as much appreciated as it should be, and M. Hauser makes several excellent points. Unlike Germany, in France the Reformation worked not amid a divided nation but in one strongly organized, nationally coherent, and conscious of itself. Again, while in Germany an opposition early developed between the North and the South, in France Protestantism was scattered through many provinces and more or less sporadic everywhere. In consequence the geographical distribution of Calvinism in France radically differs from the

distribution of Lutheranism in Germany, and these two characteristics conditioned the progress of the Reformation along entirely different lines.

Pivoted upon these premises, the essays here collected, although very different in subject and character, have yet a common basis. The two most suggestive are the Reformation and the Popular Classes in France in the Sixteenth Century, which originally appeared in the *AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW*, IV. 217-227, and in French form in the first volume of the *Revue d'Histoire Moderne et Contemporaine*. In another writing I have indicated the great importance to be attached to this remarkable article and need not here repeat the praise then expressed. Perhaps the next most valuable essay is the one entitled "Petits Livres du XVI^e Siècle". The rôle of popular preaching, pamphlet literature, and popular song in the spread of French Protestantism is a very interesting study and M. Hauser has admirably worked out the social effect of such activities. In conclusion it may be said that these essays form a fascinating and suggestive little book upon important yet neglected phases of the Huguenot movement.

JAMES WESTFALL THOMPSON.

The Electress Sophia and the Hanoverian Succession. By Adolphus William Ward, Litt.D., Hon. LL.D., F.R.A., Master of Peterhouse. (London and New York, Longmans, Green, and Company, 1909, pp. xxiv, 575. Second edition.) This is the second edition of a work which Dr. Ward contributed some six years ago to the magnificent Goupil series. Since it was reviewed adequately at the time of its appearance, little remains to be said here. It tells the strange story of the way in which Sophia, youngest of the thirteen children of Elizabeth, daughter of James I. of England, became heiress-presumptive to the throne of the Stuarts. It was largely owing to her longevity and her Protestantism that her son, George Lewis, became king of England. Through a good fortune scarcely less surprising, her marriage with the youngest of four sons made this same George Lewis ultimately the head of the ducal house of Brunswick-Lüneburg-Celle. In addition he inherited the title of Elector of Hanover acquired by his father, Ernest Augustus. Still a happy conjunction of circumstances does not account wholly for the rise of Sophia's son, and the part which the mother played in the advancement of her family is made clearly evident in Dr. Ward's pages. Indeed, no living writer is more competent than he to deal with this difficult subject in all its complications.

While those who have the means will doubtless want to possess the original illustrated volume, the present edition will be of more value to the student. Considerably revised and enlarged, it is provided with a new preface containing a very full bibliography (pp. viii-xvii), while appendix B contains a series of letters between Princess Sophia Dorothea and Count Königsmarck from the Royal Secret Archives of State

at Berlin, only two of which have ever before been published. They seem to establish beyond peradventure the guilt of the unfortunate pair. Although the author gives us frequent glimpses of the humor and good sense of Sophia, further illustrations from her correspondence would have been welcome. A few points call for critical comment. One important reason for the royal ratification of the Act of Security in 1704 is not mentioned, namely, the refusal of the Scottish Parliament to grant supplies on any other condition (p. 373). More too might have been said about George's hostility or supposed hostility to Marlborough. Furthermore, the Regency Bill of 1705 should have been more fully treated (pp. 385 ff.). The much disputed story of Bolingbroke's schemes and their defeat during Anne's last days is passed over in a cursory fashion on the ground that it does not fall within the life-time of Sophia. It was necessary to add a list of corrigenda, which unfortunately is by no means complete. Sophia was born in 1630, not 1640 (p. 11); Buckingham was assassinated in August, 1628, not in January, 1629 (p. 46); "Waldeek" should be "Waldeck" (p. 163); George Lewis became electoral prince in 1692, not in 1682 (p. 245); and Boethius is a more correct form than Boetius (p. 334). It is a pity that the proof-reading should have been so careless in such an excellent book.

ARTHUR LYON CROSS.

Roland et Marie Philpon: Lettres d'Amour de 1777 à 1780. Publiées par Claude Perroud. (Paris, Alphonse Picard et Fils, 1909, pp. 409.) This correspondence consists of one hundred and thirteen letters which passed during the years 1777-1780 between Roland, inspector of manufactures in Picardy, and Marie Philpon, the young woman who was to render the name of Roland forever famous. These letters were presented by their descendants to the Bibliothèque Nationale in 1888. Very soon after that they were used in their manuscript form by Miss Ida Tarbell in her sympathetic and critical life of Madame Roland, published in 1895. Indeed the course of the courtship, which constitutes the importance of this correspondence, was admirably presented, in its chief features, by Miss Tarbell, whose narrative showed the discrepancy between the account given by Madame Roland in her *Mémoires* and hitherto generally accepted, an account written fourteen years later when she was under the dominance of a new passion, and the actual facts as revealed by these contemporary letters.

These letters were first published in 1896 by Join-Lambert but in an unsatisfactory manner. They and a few additional ones which have since come to light have now been admirably edited by Claude Perroud who has previously shown his thoroughness and knowledge by his edition of the letters of Madame Roland from the time of her marriage until her death in 1793. It is impossible briefly to summarize the contents of this volume. The letters have but little general historical interest,

throw but little light upon the history of the times. They contain no comments of significance upon politics, literature, art, or current events. They are entirely and intimately personal. Their importance is psychological and subjective. They reveal two strong personalities, his forceful, arrogant, impatient of opposition, hers passionate, intense, idealistic, both equally convinced of their own ability and the world's need of them.

CHARLES DOWNER HAZEN.

J.-J. Rousseau et la Révolution Française. Par Edme Champion. (Paris, Armand Colin, 1909, pp. viii, 277.) Students of French history are already familiar with several chapters of this work through the pages of *La Révolution Française*. The work is a vigorous attack upon the traditional overemphasis of Rousseau's influence on the Revolution, by a scholar who made his first protest twenty years ago in the *Revue Bleue*. Speaking of the opinion, still too prevalent, which makes Rousseau the "précurseur des terroristes", the author says, "Je montrerai que le jugement dont Rousseau est victime n'a pas été rendu en connaissance de cause, fut inspiré par des préjugés détestables et dicté par l'esprit de parti." But while the "auréole sanglante" with which tradition and prejudice have surrounded the head of this peaceful man is dissipated, the glory he has so long enjoyed as the greatest of the revolutionary forces making for freedom and democracy is also denied him.

In combating the exaggerated importance attached to Rousseau by such writers as Taine, Quinet, and Lemaître, Champion shows how widespread was the revolutionary spirit in France, and how in many cases it found expression in much more radical terms than in Rousseau. Particularly suggestive is the remark (p. 21), "La magistrature eut sur les progrès de l'esprit public une influence dont les historiens de la Révolution ont presque tous méconnu la gravité." In the chapters devoted to an analysis of Rousseau's teachings, the author shows that these are far from being as revolutionary as later writers, basing their ideas on "Rousseau, mal lu, et mal cité", have led us to believe. While in sympathy with Boutmy's article against Jellinek's claims that the Declaration of the Rights of Man had its origin in America, M. Champion objects to that author's suggestion that the Declaration was probably inspired by Rousseau. The very articles ascribed by Boutmy to the *Contrat Social*, he traces to Voltaire (pp. 120 ff.), though in a last analysis he insists that these as well as the others of the seventeen articles of the Declaration were the attempt to formulate principles which would apply to specific evils of the existing order (p. 128), and as such, the outcome, not of the influence of an individual, but of previous conditions and convictions, the product of long years of French history.

The little volume is spirited and interesting and based upon mature scholarship. There are a few slips in the proof-reading, as for example "1843" for 1483 (p. 11), and "Musset" for Mallet (p. 19); and one

cannot but feel that the question of the relative popularity of the writers of the eighteenth century receives too little attention. If it is true that Mably was more revolutionary than Rousseau, it is also true that the latter was much more widely read. That a work of so much merit should be quite so polemical in character, is also a matter of regret. Even the approaching bicentenary in 1912 of Rousseau's birth, and the panegyrics in preparation, are not sufficient excuse for so controversial an attitude in the protest against "la facheuse manie d'incarner en un homme une révolution telle que la Révolution française".

WILLIAM E. LINGELBACH.

England and the French Revolution, 1789-1707. By William Thomas Laprade, Ph.D., Instructor in History, Trinity College, Durham, N. C. [Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science. Series XXVII., Nos. 8-12.] (Baltimore, The Johns Hopkins Press, 1909, pp. 232.) This work compels admiration for the skill of its author in an inferential treatment of debatable material, but to the present reviewer the conclusions presented are not convincing. The thesis of the work is, in brief, that Pitt purposely created or aided in creating an English fear of the French Revolution, even going so far as to foster quasi-insurrectionary movements solely for the purpose of holding his own place in English politics; that the same motive, combined with the desire to acquire colonies, animated him in entering upon the war with France; and that there was at no time any real danger of revolution in England. Not Burke's *Reflections*, but Pitt's political necessities produced the anti-revolutionary propaganda in England, and plunged the nation into war.

There is general unanimity to-day that revolution was not probable; but this is not to say that Pitt and his colleagues were not strongly under the impression of such a danger. It is just this honest impression that Mr. Laprade denies, with increasing positiveness as the work proceeds. In the limited space allotted to this review it is impossible to treat adequately Mr. Laprade's contentions. Some few objections may be stated. (1) The argument of the seeking for personal place or profit by English political leaders is carried too far to be logical. Everyone is sordid, including all of the Portland Whigs. But some of these very men (if the fear of the French Revolution was a mere pretense) could have hoped for greater honors by maintaining a united Whig party, since by following up with energy the disaster to Pitt's policy in the matter of the Russian armament (so narrated by the author) it should have been easily possible to overthrow the administration. (2) In the chapter on the war with France, the main reason for England's action is stated to have been the maintenance of Pitt's political power. This is necessary to Mr. Laprade's thesis. It contradicts all customary historical treatment (save the contemporary speeches of Fox and Sheridan), and in support of it the author should at least have met the

analysis of Mr. Oscar Browning (*Fortnightly Review*, February, 1883), whose opinion is based on a wider access to documents than Mr. Laprade has had, and whose verdict is against the existence of any matured *plans* for war. (3) The bibliography of materials studied is an extended one, and in general is well selected, but there is some lack of discrimination in the matter of the reliability of sources. Finally, however, the preceding objections are made by one who is not convinced that Mr. Laprade has correctly interpreted the conditions of which he treats. Others may easily find more support for the author's thesis, and certainly the reader will be attracted by an unusual facility and clearness of expression, and interested in the skilful advocacy with which the case is presented.

EPHRAIM D. ADAMS.

La Révolution et l'Église: Études Critiques et Documentaires. Par Albert Mathiez, Président de la Société des Études Robespierriennes, Professeur au Lycée Voltaire, Docteur ès Lettres. (Paris, Armand Colin, 1910, pp. xiii, 307.) This volume does not attempt to present a synthetic account of the relations of Church and State during the Revolution, a task too ambitious, in the opinion of the author, for one who has studied the sources only ten years and who is consequently acutely conscious of the amazing intricacy of the subject. It consists, rather, of seven detached studies of phases of the religious history of the period, phases little known or still the subject of controversy. In the first study the author aims to show that the philosophers of the eighteenth century were not believers in a lay and secular state in the modern sense, as frequently asserted in France in recent years, but believed rather in a close union of Church and State, in a kind of marriage, not of affection but of reason, in which the State would exercise plenary power of control. In the second study the confidence of the early Revolutionists that the Church would aid the State in the necessary work of informing and educating public opinion in a way favorable to the Revolution, that the clergy would from their pulpits read and explain and commend the Revolutionary laws and decrees to their flocks, is very interestingly shown. This confidence that the clergy would be willing, even eager, allies of the Revolutionists proved misplaced and the two shortly flew apart in bitter hostility. Mathiez devotes two solid and instructive chapters to a description of the conditions which prevailed from 1794 to 1801 under the régime of real separation of Church and State which succeeded the unsuccessful period of attempted state control. The religious budget was suppressed and various forms of religion were allowed more or less free play. These chapters throw much curious light upon a new and strange situation. The chapter entitled "Robespierre et la Déchristianisation" is a severe criticism of Aulard's thesis concerning Robespierre and the "Hebertist movement" contained in his *Culte de la Raison*, a thesis in which, according to Mathiez, "bold asser-

tions, evident contradictions, gratuitous innuendos, and, above all, serious errors are mingled with a few grains of truth." The final chapter is an admirable appraisal of the significance of the Concordat of 1801.

These studies present in compact form the essence of very wide and careful research. They are objective, critical, fresh, very informing, and very readable. They constitute an important addition to the constructive monographic literature of the French Revolution.

CHARLES DOWNER HAZEN.

The Story of the American Merchant Marine. By John R. Spears. (New York, The Macmillan Company, 1910, pp. vii, 340.) Mr. Spears has here assembled much interesting and trustworthy information relating to our merchant marine. His best chapters are those treating of steamships and steam navigation. Of these, the last two entitled the Critical Period, and During a Half Century of Depression, deserve particular mention. In them much pertinent evidence is adduced to prove that the decline of the merchant marine was the result of natural causes and not of the failure of the government adequately to subsidize ship-owners. The author is of the opinion that "we shall never again see the Stars and Stripes triumphant upon the high seas until the American environment evolves, once more, by natural process, the nautical unit as efficient for the modern day as was our ship of the sail in the days long past" (p. 340).

The less satisfactory part of the book is that which deals with the period of sailing ships. Here the narrative is often loose and thin, and abounds with needless digressions (pp. 22-24, 89-91, 240-245). The space allotted to whaling (a subject considered in another volume of the series), piracy, and privateering might have been better used in giving an account of such matters as the distribution of trade among the colonies, the effect of wars on the merchant marine, the number of ships at different periods, the articles carried, and the ports visited.

The architectonics of the book would have been improved had the author recognized more clearly the chronological divisions into which his subject naturally falls: 1607-1775, 1775-1783, 1783-1812, 1812-1815, 1815-1861, 1861-1865, 1865-1910. These divisions are sharply defined. The conditions of our Far Eastern trade, for instance, during the War of 1812, were quite different from what they were before and after the war, and the reader would be glad to have some account of them during the three years of that conflict. The book has no index.

C. O. PAULLIN.

Three Rivers: the James, the Potomac, the Hudson. A Retrospect of Peace and War. By Joseph Pearson Farley, U. S. A. (New York and Washington, The Neale Publishing Company, 1910, pp. 277.) It may be said in the outset that the contents of this volume bear but a slight relation to the rivers which give title to the book. There are

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scenes and incidents strewn along the river James but in so haphazard a fashion that the wayfaring man finds himself in a sort of chronological and geographical tangle. The book was not intended, it is presumed, to be historical and gains nothing by the occasional historical passages. The part of the book designated "The Potomac" comprises recollections of Washington at the outbreak of the Civil War and the period preceding, and some of these pages possess an interest for Washingtonians. The third division of the volume possesses a larger measure of unity than the preceding portions, for it relates almost entirely to art and artists at West Point, a subject which the author has much at heart. There are several illustrations in color from water-color paintings by the author.

Johnson's Wonder-working Providence, 1628-1651. Edited by J. Franklin Jameson, Ph.D., LL.D., Director of the Department of Historical Research in the Carnegie Institution of Washington. [Original Narratives of Early American History, edited by J. Franklin Jameson.] (New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1910, pp. ix, 285.) Though this work of Captain Edward Johnson, written in peculiar Scriptural phraseology and interspersed with labored and unsuccessful verse, can be called in no sense a great history, and possesses little of the charm that attaches to Bradford's account of Plymouth or Winthrop's *Journal*, no publication emanating from early New England is more useful to one who would know the animating purpose and general habit of mind of those engaged in planting the Puritan colonies. As the editor remarks, "it gives us . . . the essential spirit of the Massachusetts colony depicted from the point of view of the rank and file." The overmastering sense that the colony was a divinely guided enterprise, enjoying special providential favor, appears on every page, and is largely the motive for the composition of this first published history of Massachusetts. No less evident is the intolerance, the resentment of all interference, and the devoted allegiance to constituted authorities characteristic of the author. The work in which he was engaged was to him God's work. That is what lends a certain dignity even to his limitations. He is a part in a great common enterprise, in which he believes with all intensity of conviction—an enterprise that is great not because led by great men, but because it aims at realizing the will of God. No less evident than this devotion to a cause which commands his heartiest allegiance is the author's satisfaction in the development of the industrial and military strength of the community. If God's favor is over it, man's work is none the less necessary to it. In both aspects Johnson was typical of the Puritan spirit. He would trust in God and keep his powder dry.

This revelation of the animus of the humbler members of the New England enterprise amply justifies the inclusion of the *Wonder-working Providence* in the series of *Original Narratives of Early American His-*

tory. The editor has done his work modestly and well. A brief introduction gives the essential facts concerning the author and the publication and later editions of his volume. Obscure references are illuminated with brief notes, and the not infrequent errors, especially of the early part of the narrative, are corrected by the editor with the accuracy to be expected of his painstaking scholarship. If the editor has erred at all it is on the side of brevity and moderation in annotation; but the reader will find that well-nigh all that is needful for a correct understanding has been supplied. The volume deserves a hearty welcome, the more so that the original is now of much rarity, and its reprints are locked up in the relative inaccessibility of the early volumes of the *Collections* of the Massachusetts Historical Society, or the very limited, though admirable, edition published by Dr. William F. Poole in 1867.

WILLISTON WALKER.

Freemasonry in Pennsylvania, 1727-1907. Volume II. Compiled from original sources by Norris S. Barratt and Julius F. Sachse. (Philadelphia, 1909, pp. xxiv, 473.) Volume I. of this series was reviewed in the April number, 1909, and what was then noted respecting general features need not be repeated here. The present volume of Barratt and Sachse's work, even more than the first one, confirms one's fears that the material was sadly misestimated. A series has laws of its own and they are different from laws applicable to a single volume. These volumes have not been grasped as a series. Volume I. states in the preface that it covers the period, 1727-1786, and that the remaining one hundred and twenty-one years shall be covered in the present volume. It is startling, to say the least, to find that only twenty-seven of those one hundred and twenty-one years are covered and no statement is made as to whether the series closes unfinished or whether other volumes are to follow. It is even more astonishing to see persisting in the second volume the outside general title stating the period of the series as "1727-1907" and the remaining page-heads stating it as "1730-1907"! Doubtless this is the beautiful law of compromise illustrating its adaptation to historical difficulties: Those who accept the newly discovered St. John's Lodge constitutions will use the outside title, and adherents of the generally accepted date of establishment may find comfort in the page-heads. Notwithstanding these discouraging features in the vestibule, the interior has much of interest to the student of Masonic institutions and this phase of general history. Of the eight chapters into which the volume is divided, the first three are devoted to the minutes, with interpretative introductions and connections, of the period under the Provincial Grand Lodge, which closed its existence on September 25, 1786. The remaining five chapters cover the minutes during the time from the latter date to the close of 1813, under the Grand Lodge of Pennsylvania. With the compilers' peculiar fatality in

confusing titles the last chapter is headed "1811-19" instead of "1811-13". Probably the most interesting feature of this volume is the measures of reorganization made necessary by the Revolution, among which is the preparation of a new Ahiman Rezon, or book of constitutions, adapted from the old ones by that versatile genius of the period, Rev. Dr. William Smith, the first provost of what is now the University of Pennsylvania. This occurred in 1783, the year in which the first Masonic relief organization in the western world is declared to have been formed. An amusing episode of the reorganization also was the accidental application to the wrong grand lodge in England for separation, namely, the "Modern" instead of the "Ancient", with which the Provincial Grand Lodge was properly allied. The intimate relations of Washington and other great men with this lodge are dwelt upon and the various homes of the fraternity are elaborately emphasized. One of the most interesting of the numerous illustrations is a portrait of Washington by Clarke, in 1796, now owned by Judge Barratt. This volume is supplied with a full index both of subjects and names.

BURTON ALVA KONKLE.

Manors of Virginia in Colonial Times. By Edith Tunis Sale. (Philadelphia, J. B. Lippincott Company, 1909, pp. 310.) The sketches in Mrs. Sale's book are based on a series of articles contributed by her to the Richmond (Virginia) *Times-Dispatch* in 1908. The necessary brevity of the original articles prevented the use of much interesting genealogical matter, anecdote, and tradition which the author has used to great advantage in this book.

The twenty-four estates and houses chosen as subjects for her work—while generally familiar to the student of local history—lend themselves well to Mrs. Sale's delightful impressionistic method of treatment. At least eight out of the number sketched possess the added charm of being still inhabited by descendants of their builders.

With all its literary charm, however, Mrs. Sale has greatly impaired the historical and genealogical value of her work by a failure to use the sources. Space permits me to call attention to but a few of the many errors noted. The chronicles abound with misplaced wives and grandfathers. With all of his three wives Colonel Landon Carter never married an Armistead (p. 22). He married, in succession, Elizabeth Wormeley, Maria Byrd, and Elizabeth Beale. Catharine Tayloe married Landon Carter, the great-grandson not the son of Robert ("King") Carter (p. 38). A singular error is the allusion to Fredericksburg (p. 42) as "that ancient town of Stafford County". William Fitzhugh, the emigrant, was not the founder of Chatham (p. 42); it was his great-grandson, also bearing the name of William, who was born in 1741. There is no evidence that John Dandridge died at Chatham nor that Washington met Mrs. Custis there—rather to the con-

trary. Catharine, the first wife of Fielding Lewis (p. 53), was a first cousin of George Washington, not his aunt. The account of Carter's Grove and the Burwell family (pp. 172 ff.) is much too confused for untangling here. Suffice it to say that Carter Burwell built the Carter's Grove house in 1751 and it descended to his son, Nathaniel Burwell, who later moved to Clarke County.

The book contains an excellent table giving the names of the families who have at different times owned the several estates, and is profusely illustrated with views of the houses and coats of arms.

WILLIAM CLAYTON-TORRENCE.

The *Sixth Annual Report* of the Virginia State Library (Richmond, 1910) is accompanied by two valuable historical appendixes. The first is a monograph of 164 pages on the Separation of Church and State in Virginia, by Mr. H. J. Eckenrode, archivist of the state. The theme has been treated before, especially by McIlwaine, by Thom, and by James in his *Documentary History*; but it has never been treated before with so equal an eye to all the denominations and interests involved, or with so much thoroughness. Without much excellence of style, or deep insight into the nature and course of religious movements, Mr. Eckenrode makes a strong impression of solidity in workmanship and, practically, of finality in his results. He has read widely and with care in the printed sources of information, and above all he has used the important body of manuscript material preserved in the papers of the House of Delegates for the years in which the struggle for disestablishment was rife. Particularly important are those for the autumnal session of 1776, to which a flood of interesting petitions and memorials was sent in. With frequent quotations from the documents, and constant reference to the legislative journals, Mr. Eckenrode pursues his course in a workmanlike manner through the discussions of disestablishment, general assessments, incorporation, and equality, concluding with a full account of the legal controversies over the glebes and of the subsequent history of that form of property. He makes a valuable contribution to the social history of the Revolutionary period. The other monograph, by Mr. William Clayton-Torrence, the library's official bibliographer, presents in ninety-four pages the second and completing part of his *Trial Bibliography of Colonial Virginia*, continuing the titles from 1754 to 1776 on the same plan as in the first part, published last year. Two hundred and fifty titles of Virginiana of this period are given, in excellent bibliographical form, with useful notes by the editor, by Mr. W. G. Stanard, Mr. Eckenrode, and Mr. C. N. Baxter.

The Romance of the American Navy, as Embodied in the Stories of Certain of our Public and Private Armed Ships, from 1775 to 1909. By Frederic Stanhope Hill. (New York and London, G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1910, pp. xxxi, 395.) Mr. Hill's book is a popular account of the

most picturesque events of American naval history. Brief and sketchy, it is adapted to meet the needs of the general reader and not those of the serious student. It treats of the achievements of individual men and vessels; and does not essay to consider naval events in their larger relations—the influence of sea-power, the problems of naval strategy, and all those ideas with which Admiral Mahan has made us familiar. It is the “romance” of the navy that appeals to Mr. Hill.

He divides his book into two parts: (1) the War of the Revolution and the War of 1812, and (2) the Civil War and the War with Spain. He permits himself, however, certain liberties with this arrangement. Under the second part he includes a chapter on the mutiny of the *Somers*, 1842, and another on disasters to naval ships, happening in 1867, 1868, 1871, and 1889. There are also other eccentricities of arrangement. For instance, one would not expect to find under the heading, the Destruction of the Maine, an account of “An Afternoon at Cardenas”. These, however, are small defects.

Mr. Hill apparently confined himself to authorities accessible near his home. He consulted the archives of the Massachusetts State Department in Boston, and not the naval archives in Washington, by all odds the most important source for American naval history in existence. For the period of the Civil War, it is true, he had the *Official Records of the Union and Confederate Navies*, a good substitute for the unpublished records. It may be, however, hypercriticism to insist that an author in writing a book for popular consumption should avail himself of primary sources. The chapter on John Paul Jones contains a part of A. C. Buell's fiction respecting that Revolutionary hero. In the chapters treating of the Civil War the author has drawn upon his own experiences as a naval officer in that conflict.

C. O. PAULLIN.

William Fitzhugh Gordon. A Virginian of the Old School: his Life, Times, and Contemporaries (1787–1858). By Armistead C. Gordon. (New York and Washington, The Neale Publishing Company, 1909, pp. 412.) The life of the subject of this volume spans an interesting part of Virginia and Southern history and the author has made good use of his opportunity to treat of contemporary events. The Gordons are of good Scotch ancestry and they have contributed much to the making of Virginia. There has never been a constitutional convention in that ancient commonwealth in which there was not a Gordon and most of the legislatures have carried the same name upon their rolls.

William Fitzhugh Gordon like most of his family lived in the up-country made famous by Jefferson, Madison, Monroe, and the Gilmers, and he like his greater neighbors was, during most of his life, a champion of the up-country people against the lowland oligarchy. In the convention of 1829–1830 he did his best work though in the end he yielded to the fear of civil war and voted to confine the privileges of

the slaveholder's party—a fatal decision though he had the honor of siding with Chief Justice Marshall at the end of the crisis. An ardent Jackson man, he was sent to Congress in 1829, where he remained until the break between the President and the Vice-President. This rupture in the Jackson party was the beginning of a new career for Gordon. He voted against the administration measures and was defeated in 1835 in consequence. From this time forth he was a close friend of Calhoun and as a supporter of the Calhoun teachings he was one of the few Virginians who attended the Nashville conventions in 1850. He was now a full-fledged supporter of the strong pro-slavery party of eastern and southern Virginia.

Such was the career of the man whose "Life" now appears. The narrative is well presented, especially those parts which have to do with the conventions; and there is much also about such contemporaries of Gordon as Littleton W. Tazewell, the two Barbours, and Charles Fenton Mercer—about whom we know so little. The book is written from first-hand materials and several interesting letters from eminent Southern leaders are printed in full or quoted extensively. Though the book is the work of a descendant there is little of the family worship so common in such cases. Mr. Gordon has given us a book which historians will welcome and Virginians will especially enjoy.

WILLIAM E. DODD.

Lincoln, Lee, Grant, and other Biographical Addresses. By Judge Emory Speer. (New York and Washington, The Neale Publishing Company, 1909, pp. 269.) It is not often that words addressed to the ear will bear the cold scrutiny of a reader beyond the reach of the orator's voice. The addresses of Judge Speer are a notable exception, for they preserve the unmistakable charm of his personality and unfailingly hold the attention of the reader. Of the eight addresses in this volume, four deal with heroes of the Civil War—Lincoln and Grant, Lee and Joseph E. Brown. There are also sketches of two great jurists, Erskine and Marshall, and of two such antipodal characters as James Oglethorpe and Alexander Hamilton. While there has been no attempt to unify these biographical addresses for publication, a certain common quality runs through all and justifies their collection within the covers of a book—a proud consciousness of our national traditions and an accompanying conviction that our American institutions will henceforth be "the undivided heritage of an undivided people".

From an historical point of view, the addresses are less valuable for the facts which they contain than for the fervid patriotism with which they are colored. They are in themselves documentary evidence of the changes which are bringing North and South into sympathetic accord. When a Southerner who has worn the gray can find so much to admire in Lincoln and Grant, the work of ethical reconstruction is well-nigh consummated. Judge Speer describes the literary merits of

his own addresses when he says of Governor Brown of Georgia that his eloquence consisted "in conciseness, simplicity, clearness of language, mastery of facts, and in the skill and ingenuity with which these are presented in order to persuade or to convince".

Publications of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts, Volume IV. *Collections*; Volume XI. *Transactions*, 1906-1907. (Boston, 1910, pp. xvi, 502; xvii, 509.) The first of these volumes consists of three parts. The first, papers relating to the Land Bank of 1740, prepared by Mr. Andrew McFarland Davis, embraces a calendar of the papers and records respecting that bank (more than five hundred in number), which are preserved in the Massachusetts archives and Suffolk court files, together with the prospectus and articles of the company, the articles of the Silver Bank, and careful lists of members of the two enterprises. The second division, a bibliography of the journals of the Massachusetts House of Representatives, 1715-1776, and the third, a bibliography of the laws of Massachusetts Bay, have been prepared with the most elaborate apparatus, by Mr. Worthington C. Ford. Such volumes are invaluable instruments for thorough work in the history of the colony. In the volume of the society's *Transactions*, along with a considerable number of contributions having a purely local and antiquarian interest, several articles of high value are presented. One of these, a memoir of Dr. Thomas Young, 1731-1777, by Mr. Henry H. Edes, gives the story of a career notable in New York, Boston, and Philadelphia, with important influence upon Vermont. Another, by Mr. Albert Matthews, traces the history of the "Snake Devices", 1754-1776 ("Join or Die"), and the *Constitutional Courant* of 1765. Dr. James K. Hosmer's address on John Harvard in England is a model of the kind, combining the results of antiquarian research with historic imagination and breadth of view. Of the documents printed, the most interesting is the autobiography of Captain Jonathan Chapman, 1756-1832, narrating many dramatic maritime adventures in the Revolution and after. There is also a body of twenty-nine letters, contributed by Mr. Ford, written in 1792-1793 by George Washington to Anthony Whiting, manager of his Mt. Vernon estates, and a valuable group of letters of William Plumer, 1786-1787, contributed by the same member, and illustrating the progress of the Shays movement in New Hampshire. The illustrations, some twenty in number, are, as is always the case in the volumes of this society, prepared and executed with remarkable skill.

TEXT-BOOKS

Studies in the Teaching of History. By M. W. Keatinge, M.A., Reader in Education in the University of Oxford. (London, Adam and Charles Black, 1910, pp. viii, 232.) In comparing the recent work of Mr. Keatinge with the first important contribution made in England to

the same subject—Freeman's *Methods of Historical Study*—it is difficult to believe that an interval of but twenty-five years separates the two works. Freeman's personality dominated his treatment of the subject and he left his readers wiser as to himself and his historical enthusiasms and antipathies, but scarcely wiser as to the nature of history and how others should study it or teach it. Half-way in time between Freeman and Keatinge comes a series of works composite in nature, like *The Teaching of History*, planned by the Syndics of the Cambridge University Press. These composite works indicated a growing appreciation of the importance of discussing the subject, but they added little to our real knowledge of its problems—the essays were from many sources, they lacked unity of thought and of presentation, they were often vague and elusive, they showed little grasp of fundamental difficulties, and they were rather discussions of the best ways of preparing a history lecture than suggestions for meeting the difficulties of its hearers. Mr. Keatinge's work is almost as far removed from these co-operative volumes as they, on their part, were removed in spirit and method of approach from the earlier Freeman. Not only does it mark a distinct advance over all of its predecessors in the same field, but it is in effect the first genuine contribution made in England to the subject of historical method worthy to be ranked with Bernheim, Langlois and Seignobos, and Altamira.

Mr. Keatinge does not attempt an exhaustive treatment of the whole field of historical study with all of its perplexing problems—he confines himself to an examination of the specific difficulties attending the teaching of history in the pre-university period. These difficulties are the selection of a suitable method that shall be comparable with the method used in teaching other subjects in the curriculum, the differentiation to be made in the use of contemporary documents as historical evidence and as illustrative material, the application of psychological principles to the different stages of mental development that accompany progress towards the university, the vexing question of the legitimate use of the subject-matter of history in the consideration of ethical conditions, the advantages and the dangers attending the use of concrete illustration, the general syllabus *versus* the special topic treatment of material, the overshadowing influence of examining bodies, the poverty of material available for combining the teaching of history with an appreciation of poetry, the ever-present question of the advisability of making present-day conditions the point of departure or the objective point in the teaching of history, and the personal difficulties that confront any person seriously considering the vocation of a teacher of history. Mr. Keatinge has discussed all of these questions from the standpoint of the student of psychology, of ethics, of philosophy, and of history, as well as from that of the practical teacher of history, and the results of this discussion will be found most profitable to every teacher of history, in school and college alike.

The Leading Facts of American History. By D. H. Montgomery. [The Leading Facts of History Series.] (Boston and New York, Ginn and Company, 1910, pp. xiv, 400, xcvi. Revised edition.) In this edition the *Leading Facts* are included down to the last presidential election. Slight modifications have been made in some of the descriptive matter but the revision consists chiefly in the introduction of better illustrative material and improvement in the mechanical make-up.

But little attention has been paid to the demands of teachers that the space heretofore devoted to accounts of military engagements be decreased, since one-fourth of the book is still used for this purpose. Each colony is dignified by the regulation number of paragraphs.

The relation between history and geography and the bibliographies accompanying the several chapters will be helpful to teachers. Some of the literature suggested, however, such as Bancroft and the volumes of the *American Nation*, is beyond the grasp of pupils in the elementary schools. The language of the book itself is well suited to these pupils.

NOTE

On page 621 of our last number, in a review of the sixth volume of Dr. Avery's *History of the United States*, the reviewer in speaking of the loyalists of the Revolution says, "It is rather surprising to note that in the bibliography on that chapter Professor Van Tyne's well-known work on that subject is not named." The statement is misleading. Professor Van Tyne's *Loyalists in the American Revolution* is distinctly mentioned on page 448, against the number 55, and that number is referred to in the bibliography of the chapter in question. The reviewer is also disposed to admit that he spoke too technically in saying that "The formation of the Confederation . . . is disposed of in this large work in a brief paragraph" (p. 57). Though the account of the forming of that document is as brief as was stated, six pages elsewhere (pp. 157-163) are devoted to its terms.

Ed.

NOTES AND NEWS

AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

The first volume of the *Annual Report of the American Historical Association for 1908* will be issued soon after this number of the REVIEW. Work on the proof-sheets of the second volume (Texan Diplomatic Correspondence, II.) has begun.

Professor C. E. Carter's *Great Britain and the Illinois Country, 1763-1774*, Justin Winsor Prize Essay, has been delayed in printing, but is now about to appear.

The Carolina volume in the series *Original Narratives of Early American History*, besides the more ordinary and familiar pieces of the early history of the Carolinas, from Edward Bland to Archdale and Oldmixon, will contain the diary of Elder William Pratt, a member of the colony which went out from Dorchester, Massachusetts, to Dorchester, South Carolina, 1695-1696, a diary of which only a brief portion has previously been published; also Daniel Defoe's *Party-Tyranny*, and John Ash's "Present State", from Defoe's *Case of the Protestant Dissenters in Carolina*. These have never been reprinted; the originals are rare.

In the last number of this journal, page 494, Professor Theodore C. Smith of Williams College was listed as chairman of the Committee on the Justin Winsor Prize. We learn, however, that Professor Smith declined the appointment made at the Christmas meeting and that Professor Charles H. Hull has been persuaded to continue as chairman throughout the present year. Manuscripts submitted next September in competition for the prize should therefore be sent to him at Cornell University.

PERSONAL

William Graham Sumner, professor of social science in Yale University, where he had taught since 1872, died on April 12, at the age of sixty-nine. The earlier period of his teaching was occupied with economics and marked by important publications in American economic history, such as his *History of American Currency* (1874), *The Financier and the Finances of the American Revolution* (1892), and the *History of Banking in the United States* (1896). In more recent years he had devoted himself to sociology. His volume entitled *Folkways*, published in 1907, was a book of great value to historical students. Professor Sumner was a teacher of unrivalled force and clearness, and an influential and skilful writer.

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Dr. Oskar Jäger, from 1865 to 1901 director of the Friedrich Wilhelm Gymnasium at Cologne, and later, honorary professor of pedagogy at the University of Bonn, died on March 2, aged seventy-nine years. Among his historical writings are popular general histories of Greece and Rome, *Die Punischen Kriege nach den Quellen Erzählt*, a *Weltgeschichte*, a *Geschichte der Neuesten Zeit vom Wiener Kongress bis zur Gegenwart*, which passed through twenty-five editions, and a *Deutsche Geschichte* issued last year. One of his pedagogical works, *The Teaching of History*, was translated into English in 1908.

Mr. C. H. McIlwain, preceptor at Princeton University, becomes professor of history in Bowdoin College in the place of Professor Allen Johnson. Mr. Fred Duncalf, instructor at the University of Texas, has been appointed assistant professor of history in the same institution.

Professor Sidney B. Fay of Dartmouth College has leave of absence for the academic year 1910-1911. The same is true of Miss Elizabeth K. Kendall, professor at Wellesley College. Mrs. Lois K. Mathews has been made associate professor at the same college.

At Columbia University, during the absence of Professor Sloane in the ensuing academic year, Professor Charles D. Hazen of Smith College will lecture. Professor William A. Dunning has leave of absence for the first half of the year. Dr. Carlton H. Hayes has been made assistant professor in the university.

Professor William E. Lingelbach of the University of Pennsylvania has leave of absence for the first half of the coming academic year.

Dr. Julian P. Bretz has been promoted to the full rank of professor in Cornell University.

Dr. Clarence E. Carter, hitherto assistant professor in the University of Illinois, has been appointed professor of history in Miami University.

Professors W. C. Abbott, E. W. Dow, and F. H. Hodder are to give instruction in the University of Chicago during the present summer quarter.

Professor Carl R. Fish has been elevated to the full rank of professor in the University of Wisconsin; Professor Frederic L. Paxson of the University of Michigan has accepted a call to the same university.

Dr. John C. Parish, research assistant in the State Historical Society of Iowa, will occupy the chair of American history and political science at Beloit College for the year 1910-1911, during the absence of Professor Way.

GENERAL

The *History Teacher's Magazine*, whose progress and success it is a pleasure to note, announces for its second volume, beginning with September, a series of articles by competent authorities on practical aids to history teaching—lantern slides, the syllabus, the time chart, the historical atlas, the text-book, pictures, and other illustrative material. The issues for April and May contain a full statement of the courses in history offered in the summer schools of the various universities for the sessions of 1910.

The *Archiv für Kulturgeschichte* is now published by the house of Teubner, Leipzig, and in a new form, and under the editorship of G. Steinhausen, with the collaboration of Fr. von Bezold, G. Dehio, W. Dilthey, H. Finke, W. Goetz, K. Hampe, O. Lauffer, K. Neumann, A. Schulte, E. Schwartz, and E. Troeltsch. This distinguished group of historians hope to make their journal the central organ of work in the field of general (*gesamte*) *Kulturgeschichte*. In addition to articles and minor notices, an important feature of the journal will be reports by competent specialists on the literature of various divisions of the above-mentioned field.

It is proposed to organize in London a Society of Nautical Antiquaries, which would issue a journal devoted to such matters as the design and equipment of ships; the language and customs of the sea; nautical flags, dress, and relics. Those who favor the project are asked to communicate with the acting secretary, Mr. L. G. Carr Laughton, 5, Ruvigny Mansions, Putney, S. W.

Professor Frithiof Nansen has completed a large work on the exploration of the Arctic and Northern regions from the earliest times through the sixteenth century, in which he describes various travels and traces the growth of the geographical ideas they suggested. The work, which will be illustrated, will be published in several languages.

The Hispanic Society of America has lately (New York, 1910) published *The Spanish Stage in the Time of Lope de Vega*, by Mr. Hugo A. Rennert, and *The Islands of Titicaca and Koati*, by Dr. Adolph F. Bandelier.

The *Revue Historique* for March–April includes a survey by L. Hourticq of recent publications on the history of art.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: W. Goetz, *Geschichte und Kulturgeschichte* (*Archiv für Kulturgeschichte*, VIII. 1); Vicomte d'Avenel, *L'Évolution des Dépenses Privées depuis Sept Siècles*, III. (*Revue des Deux Mondes*, April 15); H. Rolin, *La Science et l'Art de la Colonisation* (*Revue de l'Université de Bruxelles*, November).

ANCIENT HISTORY

Professor John Garstang, who has been conducting excavations on the Hittite site of Sakje-Geuzi in Asia Minor, is bringing out through Messrs. Constable, London, an illustrated history of *The Land of the Hittites*, written in the light of the latest discoveries.

Recent additions to Egyptological literature are a very readable *Life and Times of Akhnaton, Pharaoh of Egypt, 1375-1358 B.C.*, by A. E. P. Weigall, Chief Inspector of Antiquities for Upper Egypt (London, Blackwood, 1910, pp. xii, 288); *The Tomb of Queen Tiye*, by Theodore M. Davis, with contributions by G. Elliot Smith, Gaston Maspero, E. Ayrton, and G. Daresay (London, Constable); and *Two Theban Queens* (London, Kegan Paul), by Dr. Colin Campbell, a memoir on the tombs of Queen Nefert-ari and Queen Ty-ti, as Dr. Campbell prefers to spell her name.

In the current number of the Royal Asiatic Society's *Journal*, Dr. Pinches translates the more important parts of a large tablet, recently acquired by the British Museum, inscribed in the reign of Sennacherib with an account of his wars and of his architectural work in Nineveh.

The house of Teubner, Leipzig, is publishing as part of the comprehensive work, *Die Kultur der Gegenwart*, two volumes entitled *Staat und Gesellschaft Europas im Altertum*, of which the first, by Professor U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, treats of the Greeks, and the second, by the late Professor B. Niese, of the Romans.

Recent French publications relating to ancient Greece are reviewed by G. Fougères in the May-June number of the *Revue Historique*, and recent publications other than French, relating to Latin antiquities, are similarly noticed by M. Ch. Lécivain in the March-April number of the same journal.

In the *Revue Générale* of the February number of the *Revue de Synthèse Historique* M. J. Toutain discusses a few of the most significant writings of the last fifteen years on the history of the religions of Greece and Rome, and the two different tendencies—the historical and the exegetical—corresponding to the different methods—the historical and the comparative—of the two groups of workers in this field. The postulate of the latter school, lately set forth in M. G. Foucart's *La Méthode Comparative dans l'Histoire des Religions* (Paris, 1909)—that in the domain of religious history the manifestations of the human spirit in different peoples are identical and obey constant laws—is regarded by M. Toutain as a psychological hypothesis rather than as an historical fact.

Le Procès de Phidias dans les Chroniques d'Apollodore (Geneva, Kündig, 1910, pp. 50) contains a transcription and commentary by M. J. Nicole of an unpublished papyrus of the Geneva collection.

P. Foucart's *Les Athéniens dans la Chersonèse de Thrace au IV^e Siècle* has been separately printed from the *Mémoires* of the Academy of Inscriptions and Belles-Lettres, XXXVIII. 2 (Paris, Klincksieck).

An elaborate annotated edition of Strabo's *Geography*, with an introduction on the life, travels, and sources of Strabo, a translation of the *Geography*, and extended notes, will be published by the State University of Iowa under the general editorship of Dr. Charles H. Weller.

Die Weltanschauung des Tacitus (1910, pp. 90) is the subject of a paper by R. von Pöhlmann, published in the *Sitzungsberichte* of the Bavarian Academy of Sciences.

The thirteenth heft of the *Leipziger Historische Abhandlungen*, edited by Professors Brandenburg, Seeliger, and Wilcken (Leipzig, Quelle and Meyer), is M. Gelzer's *Studien zur Byzantinischen Verwaltung Aegyptens* (1909, pp. 107).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: A. G. Keller, *The Study of Homeric Religion* (American Journal of Sociology, March); E. Pais, *La Conquista Sabina di Roma verso la Metà del V. Secolo av. Cr.*; *Intorno all'Età della Stazione Archeologica di Abini in Sardegna*; *La Pretesa Scoperta della Città Preistorica di Abini in Sardegna ed il Signor Hilley von Marat* (Studi Storici per l'Antichità Classica, II. 3, 4); G. Niccolini, *Le Relazioni fra Roma e la Lega Achea* (ibid.); L. Pareti, *Intorno al Περὶ Γῆς di Apollodoro* (Reale Accademia delle Scienze di Torino, 1909-1910).

EARLY CHURCH HISTORY

In the March-April number of the *Revue Historique* M. Ch. Guignebert, professor of the early history of Christianity at the Sorbonne, reviews recent works concerning Christian antiquities.

A study by the same author, entitled *La Primauté de Pierre et la Venue de Pierre à Rome* (Paris, Nourry, 1909, pp. xiv, 392), has been made on the basis of a minute critical examination of the original texts.

The Ring of Pope Xystus (London, Williams and Norgate), a collection of aphorisms in use among the Christian communities of the second century, has been translated from the original Greek by F. C. Conybeare.

The Syriac text of the richly documented commentary of Dionysius bar Salibi on the Apocalypse, the Acts, and the Epistles, has been issued in the *Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium*, Scriptorum Syri, series 2, volume CI. (Paris, Gigord). The Latin translation of this volume is in press.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: E. Emerton, *The Religious Environment of Early Christianity* (Harvard Theological Review, April); H. H. Howorth, *The Influence of St. Jerome on the Canon of the Western Church*, II. (Journal of Theological Studies, April).

MEDIEVAL HISTORY

In an article in *Études*, April 5, entitled "Bulletin de l'Histoire du Moyen Age", A. Décisier reviews recent works in that field.

The fourth and fifth volumes of H. K. Mann's *The Lives of the Popes in the Early Middle Ages* have been recently published by Kegan Paul, London.

Professor Paul Vinogradoff's *Roman Law in Medieval Europe* has been brought out in Harper's *Library of Living Thought*.

Die Wahl Johannis XXII. (1910, pp. 82), a contribution to the history of the Avignon papacy by Dr. J. Asal, appears as heft 20 in the series of *Abhandlungen zur Mittleren und Neueren Geschichte* published by Professors Below, Finke, and Meinecke (Berlin, Rothschild).

The first volume of the *Vatikanische Quellen zur Geschichte der Päpstlichen Hof- und Finanzverwaltung, 1316-1378* (Paderborn, Schöningh), issued by the Görresgesellschaft in connection with its Historical Institute at Rome, relates to *Die Einnahmen der Apostolischen Kammer unter Johann XXII.* and is edited by Dr. E. Goeller (1910, pp. xvi, 782). Another recent publication of this society is a study of *Acht und Bann im Reichsrecht des Mittelalters*, by Dr. E. Eichmann of the German University of Prague.

L. J. Paetow's University of Pennsylvania thesis, *The Arts Course at Medieval Universities with Special Reference to Grammar and Rhetoric* (University Studies of the University of Illinois, January, 1910), is of unusual interest. The author shows why the ancient classics were neglected at medieval universities; describes the "new" grammar and the decline of the study of language at the University of Paris and at Italian universities in spite of the activities of John Garland; the exceptional conditions at the universities of southern France where grammar was especially cultivated; and the neglect of the old-fashioned rhetoric and the interest in the practical *ars dictaminis*. The main object is to show that the darkness in respect to the ancient classics was deepest just before the Humanistic dawn.

J. Français traces the history of *L'Église et la Sorcellerie* (Paris, Nourry, 1910, pp. 272), giving the complete texts of the most important documents.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: E. A. Stükelberg, *Heiligengeographie* (Archiv für Kulturgeschichte, VIII. 1); R. Sternfeld, *Das Konklave von 1280 und die Wahl Martins IV.* (Mitteilungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung, XXXI. 1); M. Buchner, *Die Reichslehenstaxen vor dem Erlass der Goldenen Bulle: Ihre Entstehung und Verteilung unter die Reichshofbeamten* (Historische Vierteljahrschrift, March).

MODERN HISTORY

The fourth volume of E. Rott's *Histoire de la Représentation Diplomatique de la France auprès des Cantons Suisses, de leurs Alliés et de leurs Confédérés* (Paris, Alcan, 1910) extends from the treaty of Monzon, 1626, to the open declaration of war by France against Spain, 1635.

Quétif and Echard's *Scriptores Ordinis Praedicatorum*, which was brought down only to the year 1700, is being issued in a revised and enlarged edition by Father Coulon, who will describe writings by members of the Dominican order from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The first two fascicles of the portion dealing with the eighteenth century have recently been published through Picard, Paris. The revision of the old volumes, dealing with earlier centuries, will be undertaken last.

The Albert Shaw Lectures on Diplomatic History at the Johns Hopkins University were delivered this year by Dr. Hiram Bingham of Yale University, his subject being the Scots Darien Company: an International Episode.

Commander E. P. Statham's *Privateers and Privateering* (London, Hutchinson) is an account of the lives and adventures of British, French, and American privateers, mainly of the eighteenth century.

The two volumes, by M. Ostrogorski, *Democracy and the Party System*, first published some eight years ago and reviewed in this journal (VIII. 519-521), are to be issued by Macmillan in an abridged edition which will be a condensation of the old work with the addition of much new matter.

The John Lane Company will publish a translation of Mr. Houston S. Chamberlain's celebrated German work, *The Foundations of the Nineteenth Century*.

The *Mémoires du Commandant Persat, 1806-1844* (Paris, Plon), which have been edited from the archives of the Prince de la Moskowa, with an introduction and notes by M. G. Schlumberger, are a recital of military adventures in various parts of the world, including America, where Persat fought under Bolivar.

Señor Jerónimo Bécker has published a volume on the *Relaciones Comerciales entre España y Francia durante el Siglo XIX*. (Madrid, F. Fé, 1910, pp. 235).

The second volume of Philippson's *Neueste Geschichte des Jüdischen Volkes* (Leipzig, Fock, 1910, pp. 358) is concerned with central and western Europe from 1875 to 1908, the internal history of Judaism, including the great international Jewish associations, Zionism, the economic and social life of the Jews, etc., and a summary of the history

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of the Orient, especially of the Turkish Orient, from 1830. The third volume will relate to Russia and Poland.

A translation by Oberstleutnant Ullrich of the second volume, *Der Festungs-Krieg*, of *Die Verteidigung von Port Arthur*, by V. Schwarz and Romanowski of the Russian General Staff, is announced by Siegis-mund, Berlin.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: R. Ferry, *L'Éthiopie et l'Expansion Européenne en Afrique*, I., II. (Annales des Sciences Politiques, January, March); R. B. Mowat, *The Mission of Sir Thomas Roe to Vienna, 1641-2* (English Historical Review, April); A. Auzoux, *La France et Mascate aux Dix-Huitième et Dix-Neuvième Siècles*, II. (Revue d'Histoire Diplomatique, XXIV. 2); *Society and Politics in the Nineteenth Century* (Quarterly Review, April); Le Comte de Choiseul, *Lettres Particulières du Roi Louis-Philippe et du Prince de Talleyrand au Ministre des Affaires Étrangères—Guerre de la Belgique contre la Hollande, 1831* (Revue des Deux Mondes, March 15); G. Goyau, *Bismarck et la Papauté: La Guerre, 1870-1872*, I.-III. (*ibid.*, January 1, February 15, April 15); N. D. Harris, *European Intervention in Morocco* (Yale Law Journal, May).

GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND

Professor N. M. Trenholme has prepared *An Outline of English History* for high schools and colleges (Boston, Ginn and Company, pp. xii, 122), based on Cheyney's *Short History of England* and intended to be used as a companion to that text-book. Each period or section is analyzed in a way to suggest the most essential features. At the end of each is a series of review questions. References are given only to Cheyney's *Short History* and to the same author's *Readings in English History*, but there is a list of select reference-books, six pages in extent, and a pronouncing index of English proper names.

Mr. J. Horace Round's two-volume work, *Peerage and Pedigree* (London, Nisbet, 1910, pp. xxviii, 362, 408), contains a number of studies, mostly devoted to the exposure of genealogical imposture. The Muddle of the Law, Some Saxon Houses, the Great Carington Imposture, the Willoughby d'Eresby Case and the Rise of the Berties, and "Heraldry and the Gent", are among the articles included.

The excavation of the Roman military works at Newstead near Melrose, carried on for nearly five years by the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, has brought to light a large camp and a permanent fort, evidently occupied at several periods from the time of Agricola to that of Antoninus Pius. The finds, which are remarkable for their number, variety, and historical interest, are the subject of Mr. James Curle's work, *The Fort of Newstead*, which contains more than one thousand illustrations and is published by the above-named society through Maclehose, Glasgow.

Professor Charles Oman has contributed to the seven-volume history of England which he is editing, the first volume, *England before the Norman Conquest* (London, Methuen, 1910, pp. xxi, 679). Volumes dealing with later periods have been previously published.

Longman's Historical Illustrations: England in the Middle Ages (New York, Longmans, 1909, 1910) consists of four portfolios, each containing a sheet of descriptive text, and a dozen sheets of drawings from old manuscripts, buildings, etc., representing chiefly the costumes and architecture of the eleventh, twelfth, thirteenth, and fourteenth centuries respectively.

Dr. C. H. McIlwain of Princeton University is publishing through the Yale University Press a work entitled *The High Court of Parliament and its Supremacy: an Historical Essay on the Boundaries between Legislation and Adjudication in England*, which goes back to the origin of Parliament. The work will also be published by the Oxford University Press.

Sir William Anson has now brought out a fourth edition of the first volume of his justly celebrated treatise, *The Law and Custom of the Constitution* (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1909, pp. xxvi, 404). This volume deals with the Parliament. Pains have been taken to make use of the various historical books on the subject which have appeared since 1886, while the author has of course incorporated the results of historical change during that period, and of the action of the House of Commons, of which during many of these intervening years he has been a distinguished and useful member.

The second volume of *The Records of the City of Norwich* (Norwich, Jarrold, 1910, pp. cxlviii, 444) has been compiled and edited by Mr. J. C. Tingey, who collaborated with the Rev. William Hudson in producing the first volume of this excellent work. The extracts in the second volume illustrate the economic and social history of the city, and this subject is dealt with in the long introduction.

Professor Erich Marcks of Heidelberg, among whose previous writings is a valuable sketch of the relations between *Deutschland und England in der Grossen Europäischen Krisen seit der Reformation*, has now brought out a work entitled *Die Einheitlichkeit der Englischen Auslandspolitik von 1500 bis zur Gegenwart* (Stuttgart, Cotta).

Among the more important recent works of biographical interest are Lady Biddulph's memoir of *Charles Philip Yorke, Fourth Earl of Hardwicke* (London, Smith, Elder, 1910, pp. 320); the third and fourth volumes, covering the years 1823-1834, of Lord Broughton's *Recollections of a Long Life* (London, Murray, 1910); and *An Eighteenth Century Correspondence* (London, Murray, 1910), which includes the letters of the elder Pitt, the Lytteltons and the Grenvilles, Charles Jenkinson, and others to Sanderson Miller of Radway.

The first volume of *The Journal of the Rev. John Wesley*, which has been enlarged from original manuscripts, with notes from unpublished diaries, under the editorial charge of the Rev. Nehemiah Curnock, has come from the press of Eaton and Mains. The journal will run to six volumes.

Adam Smith's *Wealth of Nations* has been issued in a two-volume edition in *Everyman's Library* (London, Dent; New York, Dutton), with an introduction by Professor Edwin R. A. Seligman, which admirably though briefly brings into clearness the place of Adam Smith's great work in the history of economic thought.

The struggle between the crown and the Whig party from the accession of George III. to the downfall of the first Rockingham administration is elucidated by Mr. D. A. Winstanley in his book entitled *Personal and Party Government* (Cambridge University Press, 1910, pp. 322).

The second volume of the important history of the British Customs Department, *The King's Customs: an Account of Maritime Revenue and Contraband Traffic in England, Scotland, and Ireland*, by Henry Atton and H. H. Holland (London, Murray), deals with the period from 1800 to 1855, and presents much fresh information on such matters as the commercial history of the colonies, smuggling, and the working of the old protective laws.

Sir Harry Wilson, late colonial secretary of the Orange River Colony, is preparing a biography of Thomas, seventh earl of Elgin, from papers in the possession of the present earl and from the Foreign Office records. Since the seventh Earl of Elgin represented his country at the courts of Vienna, Brussels, Berlin, and Constantinople during the period 1790-1803, his biography will be of great historical interest. The section of the work relating to the Elgin marbles will be contributed by Mr. A. H. Smith of the British Museum.

From the authoritative pen of Mr. Julian S. Corbett comes a work on *The Campaign of Trafalgar* (Longmans), which utilizes new material and gives a full account of the operations from the accession of Pitt to power in 1804 until his death.

The Letters of John Stuart Mill, edited with an introduction by Hugh S. R. Elliott, and published by Longmans in two volumes, extend from 1829 to 1873 and are of political as well as of literary and philosophical interest.

The fourth and concluding volume of the official *History of the War in South Africa* (London, Hurst and Blackett) has been compiled by Captain M. H. Grant and "forms in itself a complete history of the guerilla stage of the war and of Lord Kitchener's administration".

The History of Gruffydd ap Cynan (pp. 204), the Welsh text, with translation, introduction, and notes, by A. Jones, forms the ninth number of the Historical Series, published by the University of Manchester.

M. P. Rooseboom's extended work, *The Scottish Staple in the Netherlands* (1910, pp. 500), is published by Luzac, London.

Mr. D. A. Chart's volume, *Ireland from the Union to Catholic Emancipation*, deals with social, economic, and administrative rather than with political conditions, and is based largely on unpublished documents in the Irish State Paper Office.

British government publications: *Calendar of the Patent Rolls*, Edward III., vol X., 1354-1358; *Reports of the Historical MSS. Commission*, on the manuscripts of Mrs. Stopford-Sackville, of Drayton House, Northamptonshire, II.; W. L. Grant and James Munro, *Acts of the Privy Council of England, Colonial Series*, II., 1680-1720 (London, Wyman, 1910, pp. xl, 918).

Other documentary publications: C. Plummer, *Vitae Sanctorum Hiberniae* (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1910, pp. cxcii, 273, 391); W. Foster, *The English Factories in India*, IV., 1630-1633 (*ibid.*, pp. xxxix, 354); C. T. Atkinson, *Letters and Papers relating to the First Dutch War, 1652-1654*, IV. (Navy Records Society, 1910, pp. 396).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: E. Nys, *Pages de l'Histoire du Droit en Angleterre*, II. (*Revue de Droit International*, 1910, 1); *The English Peasant* (*Edinburgh Review*, April); C. Perkins, *The Knights Templars in the British Isles* (*English Historical Review*, April); C. H. Jenkinson, *The First Parliament of Edward I.* (*ibid.*); Chalfant Robinson, *Was King Edward the Second a Degenerate?* (*American Journal of Insanity*, January); R. G. Marsden, *Early Prize Jurisdiction and Prize Law in England*, II. (*English Historical Review*, April); W. Busch, *Englands Kriege im Jahre 1513: Guinegate und Flodden* (*Historische Vierteljahrschrift*, March); J. Barnett, *Sir Richard Hawkins: the Complete Seaman* (*Cornhill Magazine*, April); H. L. Gray, *Yeoman Farming in Oxfordshire from the Sixteenth Century to the Nineteenth* (*Quarterly Journal of Economics*, February); *The Last Years of the Protectorate* (*Edinburgh Review*, April); W. Michael, *Walpole als Premierminister* (*Historische Zeitschrift*, CIV. 3); Delavaud, *Les Origines Norvégiennes des Archipels Écossais, 872-1667* (*Annales des Sciences Politiques*, March); *A Century of Scottish Life* (*Edinburgh Review*, April); Mrs. J. R. Green, *The Irish Parliament in the Seventeenth Century* (*Scottish Historical Review*, April).

FRANCE

The larger portion of the Grand Prix Gobert has been awarded to M. Christian Pfister for his *Histoire de Nancy*. Of the Prix Théroutanne, 1000 francs are given to M. Le Moy for his *Parlement de Bretagne et le Pouvoir Royal au Dix-huitième Siècle*.

Professor R. Holtzmann has contributed a *Französische Verfassungsgeschichte von der Mitte des 9. Jahrhunderts bis zur Revolution* (1910, pp. xi, 543) to the excellent *Handbuch der Mittelalterlichen und Neuere Geschichte*, edited by Professors von Below and Meinecke (Munich, Oldenbourg).

M. Léonce Celier's *Catalogue des Actes des Evêques du Mans jusqu'à la Fin du XIII^e Siècle* (Paris, Champion, 1910, pp. lxxvii, 403) describes carefully some 762 documents, and is preceded by a learned introduction on the manuscripts, and by a systematic treatise on the diplomatic of the bishops of Le Mans.

M. Claude Faure's *Etude sur l'Administration et l'Histoire du Comtat-Venaissin du XIII^e au XV^e Siècle (1229-1417)*, the third volume in the series of *Recherches Historiques et Documents sur Avignon, le Comtat-Venaissin et la Principauté d'Orange*, is based chiefly on the accounts of the treasurer of the Comtat-Venaissin, preserved in the Vatican archives in the section Camera Apostolica and in the Registers of Avignon. The administration of justice and finance naturally occupies the chief place, but there are chapters on the political history, and an appendix of documents.

Professor Hans Prutz has published in the *Sitzungsberichte* of the Bavarian Academy of Sciences (1910, Munich, Franz) a study of *Jacques Coeurs Beziehungen zur Römischen Kurie* (pp. 66).

M. S. Rocheblave's work on *Agrippa d'Aubigné* (Paris, Hachette), which treats of the reformer both as soldier and as writer, has been awarded a portion of the Prix Montyon of the French Academy.

The Marquis Calmon Maisen has written, partly from unpublished archive material, a substantial life of *L'Amiral d'Estaing, 1729-1794* (Paris, Calmann-Lévy), commander of the fleet sent to aid the Americans against Great Britain.

M. Maurice Caudel, professor at the École Libre des Sciences Politiques, has brought out through Colin, Paris, a work entitled *Nos Libertés Politiques: Origines, Évolution, État Actuel* (pp. 470), which begins with an account of preliminaries to the development of political liberties in the Ancien Régime, and after tracing their later history concludes with a section on *Le Réveil des Libertés: Les Libertés en 1875, La Reconstruction des Libertés, La Forme des Libertés, Le Jeu des Libertés*.

Professor William M. Sloane's *Napoleon* is soon to be brought out by the Century Company in a library edition of four volumes, revised and somewhat enlarged.

Two volumes of the *Collection of Documents for the Economic History of the French Revolution*, published subsequently to those reviewed in our January number, pp. 377-384, deal respectively with the *cahiers* of the *bailliages* of Troyes and of Bar-sur-Seine (first volume), and with

the *cahiers* of the *sénéchaussée* of Rennes (first volume). The former work is edited by J.-J. Vernier. In the latter, the editors, Professor H. Sée and M. A. Lesort, have subjected the *cahiers* to a critical examination of form and contents that reveals the precise extent of the originality of each document.

In the *Revue Historique* of March–April, M. H. Sée has an article on *La Rédaction et la Valeur Historique des Cahiers de Paroisses pour les États Généraux de 1789*, in which he points out that the *cahiers* have more value as objective evidence, *e. g.*, of the abuses of the seigneurial régime, than as subjective evidence of the peasants' conception of their own condition.

L'Esprit Financier des Girondins, by M. Bernard Combes de Patris (Paris, A. Rousseau, 1909), an interesting account of the attitude of the Girondists towards the financial conceptions of their times, includes also a study of the economic theories of the period.

From a large mass of unpublished material, M. Bernard de Lacombe has written a work on *La Vie Privée de Talleyrand* (Paris, Plon) which includes an account of his sojourn in America.

During the Reign of Terror (New York, Sturgis and Walton, 1910, pp. 238), Mrs. Grace Dalrymple Elliott's journal of her life during the French Revolution, has been issued in the *Court Series of French Memoirs*. It is not a translation as stated on the title page, but is reprinted from the original English edition.

The Bourbon Restoration (Houghton, Mifflin) by Major John R. Hall is a detailed account of the political history of France from 1814 to 1830.

The second part of M. de Marcère's *Histoire de la République, 1876–1879* (Paris, Plon), bears the subtitle *Le Seize Mai et la Fin du Septennat*.

Documentary publications: W. Wiederhold, *Papsturkunden in Frankreich. V. Berry, Bourbonnois, Nivernais und Auxerrois* (Nachrichten von der Königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, Phil.-hist. Kl., 1910, Beiheft); Prince Murat, *Lettres et Documents pour servir à l'Histoire de Joachim Murat, 1767–1815*, IV. *Campagne d'Autriche, 1805: Gouvernement de Paris: Duchés de Clèves et Berg: Grand-Duché de Berg: Campagne de Prusse, 1806* (Paris, Plon); J. Thomas, *Correspondance Inédite de La Fayette, 1793–1801* (Paris, Delagrave, s.d.); R. Vallery-Radot, *Correspondance du Duc d'Aumale et de Cuville-Fleury, I., 1840–1848* (Paris, Plon); Princess Radziwill, *Duchesse de Dino (puis Duchesse de Talleyrand et de Sagan): Chronique de 1831 à 1862*, IV., 1851–1862 (Paris, Plon).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: H. Prentout, *La Normandie*, III. *Les Régions de la France*, VII. (*Revue de Synthèse Historique*, Feb-

ruary); Ch. de Lasteyrie, *L'Impôt sur le Revenu sous l'Ancien Régime* (Revue des Deux Mondes, April 1); E. Levasseur, *Aperçu de l'Histoire des Monnaies et du Commerce d'Argent en France*, I. (Revue d'Économie Politique, March); H. Sée, *Les Classes Rurales en Bretagne du XVI^e Siècle à la Révolution*, concl. (Annales de Bretagne, November); L. Febvre, *L'Application du Concile de Trente et l'Excommunication pour Dettes en Franche-Comté*, I., II. (Revue Historique, March-April, May-June); E. Saulnier, *Le Cardinal de Bourbon entre les Ducs de Guise et de Nevers, 1585-1586* (Revue d'Histoire Diplomatique, XXIV. 2); A. Arnauné, *Le Système Commercial de Colbert*, I., II. (Annales des Sciences Politiques, January, March); L. Batiffol, *Louis XIII. et le Duc de Luynes*, concl. (Revue Historique, March-April); *Histories of the French Revolution* (Edinburgh Review, April); Ch. Bournisien, *Conséquences Économiques et Sociales de la Vente des Biens Nationaux*, concl. (Revue des Questions Historiques, April); L. Froger, *La Guerre de la Chouannerie de Janvier à Juin 1795* (*ibid.*); P. Montarlot, *Louis Bonaparte, Roi de Hollande, après son Abdication* (*ibid.*); G. Bourgin, *Santa-Rosa et la France, 1821-1822*, I., II. (Revue Historique, March-April, May-June); P. Muret, *Émile Ollivier et le Duc de Gramont les 12 et Juillet 1870*, I. (Revue d'Histoire Moderne et Contemporaine, March-April); H. Welschinger, *La Captivité de Napoléon III. à Wilhelmshöhe*, I., II. (Revue des Deux Mondes, April 1, April 15).

ITALY AND SPAIN

M. René Poupardin contributes to the May-June number of the *Revue Historique* a review of the recent literature relating to the medieval history of Italy.

Miss Nora Duff's life of *Matilda of Tuscany* (Dutton) is a scholarly work of Guelf proclivity.

A new series on the *Italian States* to be edited by Edward Armstrong and R. L. Douglas has been inaugurated by a scholarly *History of Perugia* (London, Methuen, 1910), by Mr. William Heywood. The purpose has been to embody the latest results of research, and abundant references to authorities are included. Perugia has been studied in its relation to Italy and not simply as a separate unit.

Madame Alethea Wiel, who has a volume on *Venice* in the *Story of the Nations* series, has published through Murray an interesting work on *The Navy of Venice* (1910).

Messrs. Allen, London, announce a *History of Venice in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries*, by F. C. Hodgson, fellow of King's College, Cambridge.

Reformation und Inquisition in Italien um die Mitte des 16. Jahrhunderts is the subject of a large work which G. Buschbell is bringing out through Schöningh, Paderborn.

The national edition of *L'Opera di Galileo Galilei*, which has been in course of publication during twenty years and embraces a correspondence of 4200 letters besides scientific and literary writings and biographical documents, has been concluded by the issue of the twentieth volume, containing indexes which fully analyze the subjects treated in the work and refer to 1600 personal names.

Venice in the Eighteenth Century (London, Chatto and Windus, 1910, pp. 280), a translation of the work of Philippe Monnier which was crowned by the French Academy, is a study of the life and pleasures of the people.

The Comitato Nazionale per la Storia del Risorgimento, organized in 1909, has for its president Senator Gaspare Finali, president of the Court of Cassation, and numbers among its nineteen members Ernesto Nathan, the present syndic of Rome, Professors Alessandro D'Ancona, Boselli, Martini, Abba, Pitré, and Casini, Marquis Emilio Visconti-Venosta, and Cav. H. Nelson Gay. The objects of the committee are (1) to establish in Rome, in the monument to Victor Emanuel, a museum, archives, and a national library of the Risorgimento; (2) to promote Risorgimento museums and archives in the chief towns and cities of Italy; (3) to prepare and issue a bibliography; (4) to publish documents; and (5) to direct special works for illustrating the most important material. The committee already possesses many collections of invaluable manuscripts, including the Crispi papers, the Jessie White-Mario papers, Mayor Nathan's Mazzini manuscripts, and others, including the Pepe correspondence. There is a possibility that the vast Risorgimento collection of books and documents in the National Library at Rome may be transferred to the charge of this committee as soon as the quarters in the royal monument are ready. At a recent meeting the committee chose a few foreign corresponding members, among whom are George M. Trevelyan (England), Professors Har-nack and Delbrück (Germany), and William Roscoe Thayer (United States).

A biography and bibliography of *Florida Blanca*, by A. Baquero (1909, pp. 101), has been published by the successors of Nogués, Murcia.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: F. Baldasseroni, *Per i Nostri Archivi* (Archivio Storico Italiano, 1910, 1); P. Kehr, *Nachträge zu den Papsturkunden Italiens*, III. (Nachrichten von der Königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, Phil.-hist. Kl., 1909, 4); H. Finke, *Dante als Historiker* (Historische Zeitschrift, CIV. 3); A. Vandal, *Le Roi et la Reine de Naples, 1808-1812*, I.-III. (Revue des Deux Mondes, February 1, 15, March 1); P. Molmenti, *Carteggi Casanoviani* (Archivio Storico Italiano, 1910, 1); H. Finke, *Die Beziehungen der Aragonesischen Könige zur Literatur, Wissenschaft und Kunst im 13. und 14. Jahrhundert* (Archiv für Kulturgeschichte).

VIII. 1); J. Martin, *La Préparation de l'Armada*, II. (Revue d'Histoire Diplomatique, XXIV. 2).

GERMANY, AUSTRIA, AND SWITZERLAND

Recent titles in the *Abhandlungen zur Mittleren und Neueren Geschichte* edited by Professors Below, Finke, and Meinecke (Berlin, Rothschild) are *Die Krämer in Süddeutschen Städten bis zum Ausgang des Mittelalters* by Dr. H. Eckert (pp. xii, 89); *Kronrat und Reichsherrschaft im 13. und 14. Jahrhundert*, by Dr. V. Samanek (pp. x, 204); *Die Öffentliche Meinung in Deutschland über das Preussische Wehrgesetz von 1814 während der Jahren 1814-1819*, by Dr. A. Mürrmann (pp. xvii, 104); and *Die Deutschen Politischen Flüchtlinge in Strassburg von 1830-1849*, by Dr. O. Wiltberger (pp. xii, 216).

H. Bächtold is publishing through W. Rothschild, Berlin-Wilmersdorf, an extensive work on *Der Norddeutsche Handel im 12. und beginnenden 13. Jahrhundert*.

Dr. Hans Liebmann's *Deutsches Land und Volk nach Italienischen Berichterstatlern der Reformationszeit* (1910, pp. vii, 243) constitutes the eighty-first heft of the *Historische Studien*, published by Dr. E. Ebering, Berlin.

Unpublished sermons, dating from 1524 to 1529, by the German reformer John Bugenhagen, have been edited by Dr. G. Buchwald and are being issued through Heinsius, Leipzig, as volume thirteen in the series, *Quellen und Darstellungen aus der Geschichte des Reformationsjahrhunderts*.

Students of agrarian history will be interested in the manual on agriculture, cattle breeding, etc., in the electorate of Saxony, dating from about the year 1569, the time of the Elector August, edited by H. Ermisch and R. Wuttke among the writings of the Saxon Historical Commission under the title *Haushaltung in Vorwerken* (Berlin, Teubner, 1910, pp. xlviii, 316).

In the May-June number of the *Revue Historique*, Paul Darmstaedter presents the first part of a review of recent works on the history of Germany from 1648 to the present.

After an interval of two years two volumes have been added to that division of the *Acta Borussica* (Berlin, Parey) which deals with the state administration of Prussia in the eighteenth century. The first half of the fifth band consists of documents dating from January, 1730, through 1735, edited by G. Schmoller and W. Stolze (1910, pp. viii, 928); the tenth band, of documents from January, 1754, to August, 1756, edited by G. Schmoller and O. Hintze (1910, pp. xi, 674).

The first volume (1828-1864) of *Prinz Friedrich Karl von Preussen: Denkwürdigkeiten aus seinem Leben* (Stuttgart, Deutsche Verlags-

Anstalt (1910, pp. 377), has been edited by W. Foerster, with the sanction of the emperor, and chiefly from the literary remains of the prince. The work will be complete in two volumes.

Karl Weller has brought out in the Göschen collection an excellent summary of *Württembergische Geschichte* (Leipzig, Göschen, 1909, pp. 176) from the prehistoric epoch to the year 1909.

Under the title *Inhaltverzeichnis der Mitteilungen des Instituts für Oesterreichische Geschichtsforschung, 1900-1909* (pp. lxxii), Kaspar Schwarz has brought out an index to volumes XXI.-XXX. and complementary volumes V.-VIII. of the *Mitteilungen*.

From the authoritative pen of Professor Karl Dändliker comes a volume entitled *Auszug aus der Schweizergeschichte* (Zurich, Schulthess, 1910, pp. viii, 172).

The second part of tome XXXI., second series, tome XI., of the *Mémoires et Documents*, published by the Society of History and Archaeology of Geneva (Geneva, Jullien, 1909, pp. 209-352), is almost entirely devoted to a monograph by E. Favre on *Gaspard Favre et sa Donation aux Fugitifs en 1556*, an episode in the history of the opposition to Calvin at Geneva. More than fifty pages of documents discovered at the time of the demolition of Gaspard Favre's house in 1894 are printed.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: Fr. Kern, *Analekten zur Geschichte des 13. und 14. Jahrhunderts*: III. *Die Auswärtige Politik Rudolfs von Habsburg*, IV. *Neue Stauferdiplome*, V. *Frankreich und die Friesen* (*Mitteilungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung*, XXXI. 1); W. Stieda, *Eine Jenaische Studentenrechnung des 18. Jahrhunderts* (*Archiv für Kulturgeschichte*, VIII. 1); C. d'Eschevannès, *La Campagne de 1761 en Westphalie, d'après les Lettres du Maréchal de Crissé au Prince de Saxe*, I. (*Revue Historique*, May-June); A. Wahl, *Beiträge zur Deutschen Parteigeschichte im 19. Jahrhundert* (*Historische Zeitschrift*, CIV. 3); Heinrich Ritter von Srbik, *Abenteurer am Hofe Kaiser Leopold I., Alchemie, Technik und Merkantilismus* (*Archiv für Kulturgeschichte*, VIII. 1); E. Chapuisat, *La Municipalité de Genève pendant la Domination Française: Extraits de ses Registres et de sa Correspondance, 1798-1814*, I. (Geneva, Kündig, pp. clxiv, 360).

NETHERLANDS AND BELGIUM

The *Bulletin* of the Belgian Royal Historical Commission, LXXVIII. 3, contains a full analysis of the Farnese archives at Parma and Naples, with reference chiefly to the economic history of the Low Countries, by Mr. L. Van der Essen. The next number is chiefly occupied with the transactions of the *séance solennelle* celebrating the commission's seventy-fifth anniversary, including a valuable review of

its distinguished labors, by Professor Henri Pirenne, and a lecture on "Notre Nom National", by Professor Godefroid Kurth.

Professor H. Pirenne of Ghent has contributed to Flammarion's *Bibliothèque de Philosophie Scientifique* a volume entitled *Les Anciennes Démocraties des Pays-Bas*.

E. Gossart's new book, *Espagnols et Flamands au XVI^e Siècle: Charles-Quint Roi d'Espagne* (Brussels, Lamertin, 1910, pp. viii, 277), is a companion volume to his work published five years ago, *L'Établissement du Régime Espagnol dans les Pays-Bas et l'Insurrection*, under Philip II.

A new biography of *William the Silent* by Miss Ruth Putnam will be published in the autumn in the *Heroes of the Nation* series (Putnam's). A new edition of her larger life of the same statesman will shortly appear.

The second volume of Professor Paul Hymans's authoritative life of the great Belgian statesman *Frère-Orban* is entitled *La Belgique et le Second Empire* (Brussels, Lebègue). It extends from 1848 to 1869 and throws new light on the international relations of the period.

Documentary publications: C. Buffin, *Documents Inédits sur la Révolution Belge*, I., Letters from J.-F. Staedtler to Prince Auguste d'Arenberg, August 7–November 7, 1830; II., Account of the bombardment of Antwerp, from the unpublished papers of Lieutenant-General Baron Chazal, former minister of war (Brussels, Dewit, pp. xxxii, 471).

NORTHERN AND EASTERN EUROPE

The second and third volumes of *Islandica* (Cornell University Library, Ithaca, 1909, 1910), an annual relating to Iceland and the Fiske Icelandic Collection in Cornell University, contain bibliographies by Mr. Halldór Hermannsson, curator of the collection, relating, respectively, to the Northmen in America, and to the Sagas of the Kings of Norway and related Sagas and Tales.

A third volume, coming down to the year 1640, of Professor N. Jorga's important *Geschichte des Osmanischen Reiches* (1910, pp. xx, 479) has been added to Lamprecht's series of *Allgemeine Staaten-geschichte* (Gotha, Perthes).

THE FAR EAST AND INDIA

Mr. J. H. Longford, for many years in the British consular service in Japan, and since 1903 professor of Japanese at King's College, London, is bringing out through Messrs. Chapman and Hall, London, *A Popular History of Japan*. Mr. Longford has contributed some articles on "Epochs of Japan" to recent numbers of *The Nineteenth Century and After*.

At the request of the government of India, the Asiatic Society of Bengal has begun the work of reporting on and collecting the bardic chronicles of northern India, which supply much historical information, and are largely unwritten. Critical editions of the chronicles will first be published in their original languages, and it is hoped that English translations will follow.

Mr. P. B. M. Malabari, one of the registrars of the High Court of Bombay, has prepared a work on *Bombay in the Making*, a history of the judicial institutions of the Western Presidency, 1661-1726, founded on numerous unpublished records. Mr. Fisher Unwin is the publisher.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: Stanley Lane-Poole, *India in the Seventeenth Century* (Quarterly Review, April).

AMERICA

GENERAL ITEMS

The Department of Historical Research of the Carnegie Institution of Washington has nearly ready for publication Dr. J. A. Robertson's *List of Documents in Spanish Archives*. Professor Fish's Guide to the Materials for American History in Roman and Other Italian Archives, and Professor Allison's Inventory of Material for American Religious History, are in the press. Professor Learned's Guide for the German archives has been received in manuscript. Mr. Leland is again at work in Paris. Miss Davenport sails July 2, for London and Paris, for several months' work on her collection of treaties. Mr. David W. Parker has finished the collecting of material for his Calendar of Territorial Papers in the Washington Archives, having lately searched the files of the Senate and House of Representatives, collections hitherto almost completely unexplored but rich in historical material.

Writings on American History, 1908, edited by Miss Grace G. Griffin, has now appeared (Macmillan, pp. xviii, 174). It is the third in the present series of annual bibliographies of American history, and embraces 2946 titles. The mode of treatment is the same as in previous volumes, the execution is most careful, and the series is in the way of becoming a standard implement of American historical research. The volume for 1909 is well advanced in preparation.

Among the recent accessions of the Manuscript Division of the Library of Congress are the letter-book of Dennys DeBerdt, 1765-1770, colonial agent of Massachusetts in London; the papers of William Short, diplomatic, financial, and political official and personal correspondence, 1785-1795; a body of papers of Meshech Weare, president of New Hampshire; a diary and miscellaneous sermon briefs of Rev. Moses Waddel, 1824-1826; a manuscript life of Rev. Moses Hoge, by John Blair Hoge; an additional mass of Jefferson Davis papers, relating to his capture and defense, and other important Confederate papers; a body of Elbridge

Gerry papers, letters received, drafts and memoranda of diplomatic negotiations; Robert Beverley's letter-book, 1761-1793; General Nathaniel Greene's letter-book, October 16 to December 31, 1780; papers of William Eustis; and manuscript acts of the General Assembly of Virginia, 1722-1726.

The seventeenth International Congress of Americanists will be held in the City of Mexico from September 8 to 14. The work of the congress will deal especially with the following subjects: native American races, their origin, geographical distribution, history, physical characteristics, languages, civilization, mythology, religion, habits, and customs; native monuments and the archaeology of the Americas; and the history of the discovery and European occupation of the New World.

With January, 1910, the Library of Congress commences the publication of a monthly list of current documents received from the states, territories, and insular possessions of the United States. All requests for the purchase of this *Monthly List of State Publications* (fifty cents a year) should be addressed to the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C.

The American Antiquarian Society has recently acquired for its library at Worcester a large collection of books and pamphlets printed in Philadelphia between 1785 and 1800. The collection, which numbers nearly one thousand titles, was originally formed by a Philadelphia collector who sought to acquire material supplementing Hildeburn's *Issues of the Pennsylvania Press*. It is especially strong in the publications of Congress and in political pamphlets. The society has also acquired a collection of Pennsylvania newspapers dating between 1760 and 1815, and comprising about ten thousand issues.

The British Stationery Office has brought out a fresh volume of the *Calendar of State Papers, Colonial Series, America and West Indies*. This solid volume, edited by Mr. Cecil Headlam (pp. lxviii, 851), is devoted solely to the papers of the year 1700, and is, like its predecessors, invaluable.

Two "Extra Numbers" of the *Magazine of History* have recently been issued, the one containing John Clarke's *Impartial and Authentic Narrative of the Battle fought on the 17th of June, 1775*, and Paul Bentalou's *Pulaski Vindicated*, the other the Rev. Benjamin Doolittle's *Short Narrative of the Mischief done by the French and Indian Enemy* and C. C. Jones's *John Habersham*.

In a double number (January and April) of 189 pages the *Ohio Archaeological and Historical Quarterly* prints David Zeisberger's *History of the North American Indians*, the original manuscript of which is preserved in the Moravian archives at Bethlehem, Pennsylvania. The history is printed in a translation from the German, made by Professor W. N. Schwarze, whose name appears on the title-page as joint editor.

with Professor A. B. Hulbert. Professor Hulbert contributes a sketch of Zeisberger's life, to which are added lists of his published and manuscript works. Zeisberger's intimate acquaintance with the life, manners, and customs of the Indians of New York, Pennsylvania, and Ohio give to this work an unusual degree of interest and value. An analytical index occupying fifteen pages makes the material of the volume easily available.

The German American Historical Society expects shortly to bring out in its *Americana Germanica* series Mr. Amandus Johnson's *The Swedish Colony on the Delaware*, and also *Uncle Tom's Cabin in Germany*, by Miss Grace Edith MacLean, and *Heine in America*, by Mr. H. B. Sachs.

Mr. C. K. Bolton's work *Scotch Irish Pioneers in Ulster and America*, on which he has for several years been engaged, has come from the press of Bacon and Brown. In addition to much other material which has not hitherto appeared the book contains an index of the names in the records of the Synod of Ulster from 1692 to 1720.

Volumes V. and VI. of the *Documentary History of American Industrial Society* (Cleveland, Arthur H. Clark Company), contain materials on the labor movement from 1820 to 1840, edited by Professor John R. Commons and Miss Helen L. Sumner. A supplement to volume IV. has also appeared.

A committee of the Irving Club of Knoxville, Tennessee, have brought out a collection of the writings and addresses of the late Joshua W. Caldwell, author of *Studies in the Constitutional History of Tennessee* and other historical works. Among the historical essays and addresses included in the volume are: "The South in the Revolution", "Last Days of Andrew Jackson", "Calhoun the Statesman", "Tennessee, Past and Present", and "John Bell of Tennessee". The title of the book is *Joshua William Caldwell: a Memorial Volume*.

South American Fights and Fighters: and other Tales of Adventure, by Cyrus Townsend Brady, is a recent addition to Messrs. Doubleday, Page, and Company's series *American Fights and Fighters*. The volume is misnamed "South American", since the stories relate more largely to Mexico than to regions south of the Isthmus. The "other tales of adventure" comprise accounts of a number of famous duels and some chapters upon John Paul Jones. The author maintains that he has "absolutely and finally" settled one phase of the question why John Paul assumed the surname Jones, yet, while his negative conclusions are not altogether new, his positive conclusions are lacking in positiveness. The inclusion of these odds and ends in the volume mars its unity.

ITEMS ARRANGED IN CHRONOLOGICAL ORDER

Mr. Alfred E. Hudd's *Richard Ameryk and the Name America* has been reprinted from the *Proceedings* of the Clifton Antiquarian Club, 1909-1910.

Hitherto the discoveries of Verrazano have been attested by two copies (Italian translations) of a narrative letter addressed by the explorer to the king of France. One of these copies was printed by Ramusio in 1556 in the third volume of his collection of *Navigazioni*, and an English translation was included by Hakluyt in his *Divers Voyages*. The other copy, containing a cosmographical appendix not in the copy printed by Ramusio, was found many years later and is now in the Biblioteca Nazionale of Florence. This copy was published by the New York Historical Society in 1841, with a translation made by Dr. J. G. Cogswell. There has recently come to light a hitherto unknown copy of the celebrated letter, which contains important additions and variations. This document is now in the possession of Count Giulio Macchi di Cellere. Professor Alessandro Bacchiani has published the Cellere codex, and by bringing into prominence the additions and variations in comparison with the copies of the letter already known, has been able to refute all the arguments raised against Verrazano's discovery. Professor Bacchiani, in a study of great value, illustrates and comments upon the text of the "Commentario della Delfina e del Suo Viaggio".

The second volume of Rev. T. J. Campbell's *Pioneer Priests of North America, 1642-1710* (New York, American Press), bears the subtitle *Among the Hurons*.

Mr. William Nelson has prepared a bibliography of the controversy over the proposition for an American episcopate, 1767-1774, which has been issued by the Paterson History Club.

The April number of the *American Catholic Historical Researches* is devoted entirely to an account of the career of General Thaddeus Kosciuszko by Martin I. J. Griffin.

A monograph by Dr. G. Hägermann entitled *Die Erklärungen der Menschen- und Bürgerrechte in den Ersten Amerikanischen Staatsverfassungen* (pp. 163) forms heft 78 of the series *Historische Studien*, published by Dr. E. Ebering, Berlin.

The Macmillan Company have in press the first volume of *The Letters of Richard Henry Lee*, edited by Professor J. C. Ballagh under the auspices of the National Society of the Colonial Dames of America.

Mr. P. M. Walters's *Peter Cartwright*, which Messrs. Eaton and Mains have added to their series *Makers of Methodism*, tells in an attractive manner the story of a career which possesses no small value for the religious history of the first half of the nineteenth century and is not without political interest.

A volume of much interest for the history of the higher education of women is *The Life of Mary Lyon*, the founder of Mount Holyoke College, by Beth Bradford Gilchrist (Boston, Houghton Mifflin Company).

Mr. O. G. Villard has in preparation a *Life of John Brown of*

Harper's Ferry, which will be published in the autumn by Houghton Mifflin Company. It is said that Mr. Villard has gathered a great deal of hitherto unused material which will find place in the volume.

Mr. George Cary Eggleston, whose *History of the Confederate War* has recently appeared from the press of Sturgis and Walton, has brought out through Henry Holt and Company *Recollections of a Varied Life*, which includes reminiscences of the author's experiences as a Confederate in the Civil War.

Dr. John E. O'Brien, who was a military telegraph operator during the Civil War, has published at Scranton, Pennsylvania, the reminiscences of himself and his brother, Richard O'Brien, who was chief operator in the Army of the James and of the Department of North Carolina. The volume, which bears the title *Telegraphing in Battle: Reminiscences of the Civil War*, contains material of interest, although not well arranged.

The Macmillan Company have published in their *Special Campaign* series, *The War of Secession, 1861-1862*, by Major G. W. Redway.

Mr. O. W. Norton in *Strong Vincent and his Brigade at Gettysburg, July 2, 1863*, endeavors to show that the promptness of Colonel Vincent in occupying Little Round Top without waiting for orders probably saved the day to the Union forces. To the writer's own narrative are added excerpts from reports and other statements relating to the action of the brigade under Vincent's command.

The *Life of Daniel Coit Gilman*, in the preparation of which Professor Fabian Franklin has for some time been engaged, has been published by Dodd, Mead, and Company. The volume includes correspondence with educators, literary men, and statesmen.

Captain Parker's *Rear-Admirals Schley, Sampson and Cervera* (Washington, Neale, 1910, pp. 333) is not in the completest sense an historical work. It has less in common with disinterested history of the best type than with the brief of an ingenious lawyer, defending a cause and expounding evidences after the manner of an advocate rather than of a judge. Yet like the advocate's plea, it no doubt has its use.

LOCAL ITEMS, ARRANGED IN GEOGRAPHICAL ORDER

Messrs. Burleigh and Flynt of Augusta, Maine, state printers, have in press a new and enlarged edition of *Maine at Valley Forge*, prepared by the state historian, Henry S. Burrage, D.D. The volume contains the names of the one thousand and eight officers and men from what is now the state of Maine who served in the eleven Massachusetts regiments in Washington's army in the memorable winter of 1777-1778, and an index to them. The roll was made up from the Revolutionary rolls in the State House in Boston. There is added an account of the

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dedication of the granite marker erected by the state of Maine in 1907 in Valley Forge Park in honor of these Revolutionary heroes.

The *Proceedings* of the Massachusetts Historical Society for February–March, 1910, includes a long discourse by John Quincy Adams on the opium war of 1840 between Great Britain and China; some correspondence, 1776–1785, between Samuel Adams and Samuel Phillips Savage; and a long and interesting series of war letters by Dr. Seth Rogers, who in 1862 and 1863 served under Colonel Thomas W. Higginson as surgeon of the colored regiment known as the First South Carolina Volunteers. The society announces the gift by Samuel Savage Shaw of a collection of colonial and Revolutionary manuscripts, maps, and broadsides, to be known as the Samuel Phillips Savage papers; also the deposit in the society by William Allen Hayes of the papers of Major-General Jacob Brown; by the Second Church of Boston, the records of the church kept by Increase and Cotton Mather; and by Miss Effie Ellis, two record books of the Brook Farm Community of West Roxbury. More recently it has printed in its *Proceedings*, among other matter, the following: Boston Customs Records, by Winslow Warren; Valentine-Vans Currency Controversy, by Andrew McFarland Davis; and American Board of Commissioners of the Customs, by Edward Channing. Of original documents, it prints letters from Charles Stuart, a paper relating to White's Dorchester Company, a protest by W. B. Lewis against resigning his office, state papers on the Indian disturbances on the Massachusetts frontier, 1694–1695, and letters from Hollis, Price, and Priestley to Joseph Willard, president of Harvard College.

The Colonial Society of Massachusetts has volume XII. of its *Publications* in the hands of the indexer. A volume of Collections, which is to contain the early records of Harvard College, is also well advanced and may be expected in 1911. Volume II., long deferred, and containing the commissions of royal governors of the Province of Massachusetts Bay, and of some other functionaries, will perhaps likewise be issued in 1911.

Provided a sufficient number of subscriptions can be secured to warrant the undertaking the Essex Institute proposes to publish the records and files of the quarterly courts of Essex County, Massachusetts, which contain the abstracts of testimony, depositions, and other papers used in the original trials. These records, which date from 1634 and are the most extensive of the kind in the United States, are not only of great value for genealogical purposes, but also shed much light on social conditions and illustrate the development of the colony and province. It is proposed to issue a volume a year, which shall contain about 500 pages of text, with an exhaustive index of names, places, and subjects.

Messrs. D. W. and R. F. Wells are the authors of a *History of Hat-*

field, *Massachusetts, 1660-1910*, a volume of about 500 pages compiled from official records, letters, diaries, newspapers, and similar sources. The book treats of the institutions of the town but leans largely to biographical accounts and genealogy. The volume includes the reminiscences of Samuel D. Partridge, supplemented by those of D. W. Wells.

Mr. William B. Weeden's new work, *Early Rhode Island: a Social History of the People*, has been brought out by the Grafton Press in their historical series.

At the recent session of the legislature of the state of New York an act was passed making provision for the translation and printing of the Dutch manuscript records of the colony of New Netherland from 1630 to 1674. It is understood that the work of translation and editing will be entrusted to the competent hands of Mr. A. J. F. van Laer, state archivist.

In an auction sale of June 16 and 17, by Messrs. Frederik Muller and Company of Amsterdam, there appear, among other documents concerning the Dutch West India Company, several contemporary copies of documents hitherto unknown, relating to New Netherland in 1624-1626. The collection embraces an order of March 30, 1624, respecting emigrants then about to sail for New Netherland; two instructions, the first undated, the second of April 22, 1625, for Willem van Hulst, provisional director; instructions of the same date, for the engineer Kryn Frederickz; and a report (forty pages in length) made by Isaac de Rasieres to the directors of the West India Company, dated at Fort Amsterdam on the Island of Manhattan, September 23, 1626, and therefore written within a few weeks after his arrival, and antedating by nearly two years the well-known letters of Rev. Jonas Michaelius, hitherto deemed the earliest letters from Manhattan.

The Print Department of the New York Public Library will maintain during the summer months at the Lenox Library Building, an exhibition dealing with the American Revolution as pictured in English, French, and Dutch cartoons, mainly from the collection of R. T. H. Halsey. The exhibition embraces more than 250 of these prints.

Dr. Edward S. Holden's *West Point and the United States Military Academy* has appeared from the press of Sturgis and Walton Company.

In the volume *The Stone House at Gowanus*, by Georgia Fraser, there is gathered not only the history of the house itself, but much of military and personal incident centring about the old stone house which was Stirling's headquarters and was occupied for a time by Washington. The battle of Long Island is described through several pages (New York, Witter and Kintner).

Provided the needful fund of eighteen thousand dollars can be collected, it is proposed to undertake the publication of the complete works of William Penn, to be edited by Dr. Albert Cook Myers of

Moylan, Pennsylvania. No really adequate collection of Penn's works, and especially of his letters and of the other documents of his career, has ever been issued. It is estimated that the set will make ten volumes, large octavo. An excellent committee of advisers from the Historical Society of Pennsylvania has been appointed, and Dr. Myers's name is a guaranty of good execution. It is earnestly to be hoped that a project of so much value to history may succeed.

The leading article in the *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* for April is a paper on "The Struggle and Rise of Popular Power in Pennsylvania's First Two Decades (1682-1701)", by H. F. Eshleman. Drawing his materials mainly from the colonial records and the votes of the assembly, the author presents in a clear and forcible manner the growth of power in the assembly, culminating in the charter of 1701. Mr. Charles Henry Hart contributes to this number some new facts relative to "Hail Columbia", correcting an inference in Mr. O. G. T. Sonneck's recent *Report* on the national airs. In the department of Notes and Queries are several letters and other documents of interest, among them a letter from John Blackwell to William Penn, May 15, 1690, relating to Penn's affairs in Philadelphia, a letter from Alexander Hamilton to John Dickinson, March 29, 1802, and the proceedings of the convention which nominated Joseph Hiester for governor of Pennsylvania, March 4 and 6, 1820.

The Historical Society of Pennsylvania has acquired an additional volume of letters from John F. Watson, on subjects in his *Annals of Philadelphia*.

The Colonial Society of Pennsylvania, which in a former year published the early minutes of the Newcastle County Court, now have in preparation the minutes of Chester County Court from 1681 to 1697.

The March number of the *Maryland Historical Magazine* prints some letters from the Taney papers in the possession of the society, including letters of Francis Scott Key, 1831-1833, and one each from Martin Van Buren, Aaron Burr, and Roger B. Taney. The letter from Taney relates to the United States Bank and was probably addressed to Nicholas Biddle. Other contents of this number of the *Magazine* are a sketch of the Chevalier D'Annemours, secret envoy from the court of France to the United States during the Revolutionary War and afterward consul-general at Baltimore; a petition to Governor Sharpe from some Roman Catholics against the imposition upon them of a double tax; and a sketch of Brantz Mayer, by Dr. Bernard C. Steiner.

Volume XIII. of the *Records of the Columbia Historical Society* (Washington, 1910, pp. 217) embraces a biographical sketch of General James M. Langan by Miss Ella L. Dorsey; a body of interesting reminiscences of Secretary Stanton by the late Major Albert E. H.

Johnson, who was his confidential secretary during the war; and an article by Mr. Madison Davis on the Public Career of Montgomery Blair, especially his service as postmaster-general.

The *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* includes in its April issue some documents from the Randolph Manuscript relative to the case of Griffin and Burwell v. Wormeley, in the general court of Virginia in 1681, a case of some importance involving inheritance. Under the caption "Virginia Legislative Papers" appear some petitions and memorials of October and November, 1776, concerning the established church; under that of "Miscellaneous Colonial Documents" are printed the Fairfax County resolutions of July 18, 1774, written by George Mason and printed in Rowland's *Life of George Mason*. Mr. James Mercer Garnett contributes to this issue of the *Magazine* a summary of the *Journals of the House of Burgesses of Virginia* for the years 1761-1776, using the title "The Last Fifteen Years of the House of Burgesses of Virginia". Similar summaries of other periods were contributed by Mr. Garnett to *The Nation* of April 23, 1908, October 21, 1909, and January 6, 1910.

The *Index and Genealogical Guide to Bishop Meade's Old Churches, Ministers, and Families of Virginia*, compiled by J. C. Wise, has been brought out by the Bell Book and Stationery Company of Richmond.

The University of Chicago Press have just published *Sectionalism in Virginia*, by Professor Charles H. Ambler.

The Acme Publishing Company of Morgantown have brought out a *History of Harrison County, West Virginia, from the Early Days of Northwestern Virginia to the Present*, by Henry Haymond.

The James Sprunt Historical Monograph, published under the direction of the North Carolina Historical Society, will hereafter appear semi-annually and under the title *The James Sprunt Historical Publications*. Volume IX., no. 1, contains a paper on the work of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in the Province of North Carolina, by David D. Oliver, and some letters to and from John Rust Eaton, 1794-1815. Among the writers of the letters are William H. Winder, James Winchester, and Nathaniel Macon.

Mr. Marshall DeLancey Haywood has brought out through Messrs. Alfred Williams and Company of Raleigh *Lives of the Bishops of North Carolina from the Establishment of the Episcopate in that State down to the Division of the Diocese*.

In the January number of the *South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine* Mr. Joseph W. Barnwell discusses "The Evacuation of Charleston by the British in 1782", presenting such contemporary and nearly contemporary accounts of the evacuation as he has been able to find by extensive search. The article is inspired by a passage in Professor Goldwin Smith's *The United States: an Outline of Political*

History (a passage based upon Thomas Jones's *History of New York during the Revolutionary War*); Judge Barnwell convincingly refutes the charges brought against the Americans in the works mentioned. In the same issue of the *Magazine* Mr. Henry A. M. Smith gives the history of the old towns of Radnor, Edmundsbury, and Jacksonborough. In a paper on "The Baronies of South Carolina", which appears in the April issue, Mr. Smith gives a history of the so-called Ashléy barony, granted to the Earl of Shaftesbury in 1675. The article is accompanied by a map compiled by Mr. Smith from old maps and deeds. Mr. M. Alston Read contributes to the same number some genealogical notes relating to the family of Sir John Yeamans.

Messrs. Houghton Mifflin Company have issued a revised and enlarged edition of Mr. Peter J. Hamilton's *Colonial Mobile*. There is new material on the French and Spanish institutions, British legislation, Indian policy, and American territorial and social evolution in the Southwest, and there are hitherto unpublished maps from European archives.

The Story of Coal and Iron in Alabama, by Ethel Armes, has been published in Birmingham by the author.

Dr. Dunbar Rowland, director of the Mississippi Department of Archives and History, has been granted the privilege of using the Jefferson Davis papers in the custody of the Confederate Memorial Association of New Orleans, for the purposes of his proposed publication of the Writings and Speeches of Jefferson Davis. The department solicits the aid of all historical organizations and of individuals having material useful for this work. The seventh and eighth *Annual Reports* of the director have just been issued in one volume (pp. 121, 25). The former includes the military journal of Captain Isaac Guion, 1797-1799, consisting of some eighty pages of interesting letters relating to the Spanish evacuation and American occupation of the military posts east of the Mississippi River. The director reports the completion of the volumes of transcripts from the English archives, and large progress in the series of French and Spanish transcripts.

The Choctaw of Bayou Lacomb, St. Tammany Parish, Louisiana (Bureau of American Ethnology, *Bulletin* 48, pp. 37), by David I. Bushnell, jr., gives a brief history of this tribal remnant and describes the mental and social culture of the two small groups of Choctaws now dwelling in St. Tammany parish. The volume includes a number of myths and legends, and is illustrated with twenty-two plates.

The Albert Shaw Lectures on diplomatic history, 1909, delivered by Professor E. D. Adams, have been published by the Johns Hopkins Press with the title *British Interests and Activities in Texas, 1838-1846*.

Dr. C. W. Ramsdell's *Reconstruction in Texas* has been issued as

one of the *Columbia University Studies in History, Economics, and Public Law*.

Hood's Texas Brigade: its Marches, its Battles, its Archives, by J. B. Polley, who was a member of Hood's brigade, has been published in Washington by Neale.

The Mississippi Valley Historical Association held its third annual meeting at Iowa City on May 25, 26, and 27. The programme of May 25, which was presented under the auspices of the State Historical Society of Iowa, included an address "On the Way to Iowa", by Professor L. G. Weld, a conference of local historical societies in Iowa, and an address on Abraham Lincoln, by Mr. Joseph Newton of Cedar Rapids. On May 26 there was a conference of teachers of history and also a conference of Mississippi Valley historical societies. At the former conference Professor A. C. McLaughlin read a paper on the "Chief Features of the Report of the Committee of Five of the American Historical Association", which was followed by discussions of the use of sources in secondary teaching and the correlation of history and civics. Professor Frederick J. Turner delivered an address upon "The Significance of the Mississippi Valley in American History", and Mr. John Lee Webster, president of the State Historical Society of Nebraska, upon "The Duty of the State in Relation to its History". Among the papers read during the sessions of the association were: "The Evolution of Nebraska", by Mr. Albert Watkins of the State Historical Society of Nebraska, "The Significance of the Louisiana-Texas Frontier", by Professor I. J. Cox, "The Bid of the West for the National Capital", by Professor O. B. Clark, "Detroit and George Rogers Clark, 1780-1781", by Professor James A. James, and "The Need of a Comprehensive Finding List of Western Manuscripts", by Professor Clarence W. Alvord.

Messrs. Appleton have planned the publication of a series of volumes, under the editorship of Professor Clarence W. Alvord of the University of Illinois, intended to narrate the history of the development of the West, the series to bear the general title "Pioneers of the West". The volumes are to be biographical and each is to be written from a careful study of available and original sources. It is understood that volumes on George Rogers Clark, William Henry Harrison, John Charles Fremont, and Charles Michel de Langlade are already in preparation.

Mr. H. Addington Bruce's *Daniel Boone and the Wilderness Road* has come from the press (Macmillan).

The pages of the January-March issue of the *Quarterly Publication of the Historical and Philosophical Society of Ohio* are occupied with four brief accounts of journeys to the Western country between 1809 and 1812. Two of these are by Peyton Short, brother of William

Short, the diplomat, and relate to a single tour made to Mobile, Fort Stephens, Fort Stoddert, and Pensacola in 1809. The principal account is an enclosure to Henry Clay in October, 1811, the other a letter to Dr. Frederick Ridgely of Lexington, Kentucky. The two other narratives are letters of James McBride, the one describing a journey from Hamilton, Ohio, to Lexington, Kentucky, in the summer of 1810, the other a voyage down the Mississippi River in the spring of 1812.

Mr. A. M. Dyer contributes to the *New England Historical and Genealogical Register*, April number, an initial paper entitled "First Ownership of Ohio Lands". The paper deals primarily with the state cessions of western lands and the proceedings of the Continental Congress relative to them.

The Ohio Country between the Years 1783 and 1815, by C. E. Slocum, has come from the press of G. P. Putnam's Sons.

The annual meeting of the history section of the Indiana State Teachers Association was held in Indianapolis on April 29 and 30. In addition to discussions of problems affecting the teachers of history there was an address by Professor Henry E. Bourne on "Our Early Republic as French Travellers Saw it", and one by Mr. DeMarchus C. Brown on "An Early Indian War".

The *Indiana Quarterly Magazine of History* publishes in its March issue an article on the "Formation of the Christian Church in Indiana", by H. Clay Trusty. The article draws its materials mainly from three or four printed sources, the references to which are given in a somewhat unsatisfactory manner. Miss Henley, of the Indiana State Library, contributes a bibliography of Indiana local history contained in county histories, atlases, and collected biographies.

The *Transactions* of the Illinois State Historical Society for 1908 (Springfield, 1909, pp. 300) contains papers read at the annual meeting of that year, by Mr. Horace White, on Abraham Lincoln in 1854, by Hon. Adlai E. Stevenson, on Stephen A. Douglas, etc.; also an English translation of the *Invitation Sérieuse* of 1772, and extracts relating to Illinois from General Collot's *A Journey in North America*, and from Samuel R. Brown's *The Western Gazetteer or the Emigrant's Directory*.

Among the articles in the January number of the *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society* are an account of "Margaret Fuller's Visit to Northern Illinois" in 1843, contributed by R. V. Carpenter, and "An Illinois Burnt Offering", an account by Dr. J. F. Snyder of an attempt at human sacrifice by a group of fanatics in Illinois in 1834. This number prints a list of rare books pertaining to Illinois recently purchased by the society, and also a list of the works of Louis Hennepin in the society's library. The April number of the *Journal* contains an article by Solon J. Buck of the University of Illinois on "Agricultural Organization in Illinois, 1870-1880", and an investigation of "Abraham Lincoln's Defence of Duff Armstrong", by J. N. Gridley.

The Illinois State Historical Society held its eleventh annual meeting at Springfield on May 5 and 6. Among the papers read during the sessions were: "Negro Slavery in Illinois", by Hon. John P. Hand of Cambridge, Illinois, "Illinois and the Revolution in the West, 1779-1780", by Professor J. A. James, "The Illinois Bill of Rights", by Dr. Herman G. James, and "The West and the Growth of the National Ideal", by Professor F. L. Paxson.

Bygone Days in Chicago: Recollections of the "Garden City" of the Sixties (Chicago, McClurg, pp. 400) is from the pen of an "old-time newspaper reporter", F. F. Cook. Even if the author had not confessed this fact the reader would have guessed it from his style. There is a series of chapters under the caption "War Time Memories", and another series upon various phases of life in Chicago in the decade preceding the great fire. There is even a chapter upon "Early Literature and Art". One may glean from the volume a great deal that is of real interest, but there is much padding.

Mr. Henry H. Eby has published at Mendota, Illinois, a small volume of reminiscences under the title *Observations of an Illinois Boy in Battle, Camp, and Prisons, 1861 to 1865*. The experiences relate largely to operations along the Mississippi, in northern Alabama, and in Tennessee, and to prison life in Belle Island, Libby, and Smith prisons.

The *Register of the Kentucky State Historical Society* continues in its May issue the correspondence of Governor Isaac Shelby, begun in the issue for January. The letters in this number were addressed to General William Henry Harrison during September, 1812, and relate to the Kentucky militia. Mr. John W. Townsend contributes a sketch of David Rice Atchison, puncturing the story of "the one-day President of the United States".

Francis M. Turner's *Life of General John Sevier* (Washington, Neale) is not a work embodying much first-hand investigation, although some use has been made of the Draper manuscripts in the library of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin.

The *Proceedings* of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin for the year 1909 include, beside reports upon the activities of the society and its auxiliaries, a number of papers of general interest, some of which have hitherto received mention in these pages. Professor J. A. James has a brief though excellent paper on "Indian Diplomacy and the Opening of the Revolution in the West", Mr. John Thomas Lee offers a bibliography of Jonathan Carver's travels, Dr. Louise P. Kellogg gives an account of the organization, boundaries, and names of Wisconsin counties, and Mr. Duane Mowry writes "An Appreciation of James Rood Doolittle". Other papers relate to local settlements in Wisconsin. Among the manuscript accessions of the society during the year are papers of Nathaniel P. Tallmadge, United States senator from New York,

1833-1844, and governor of Wisconsin Territory, 1844-1846; papers (1836-1865) of John Catlin, secretary and acting governor of Wisconsin Territory; papers of Rear-Admiral Charles Wilkes, including the draft of a letter relating to the capture of the *Trent*; some papers of Senator James R. Doolittle; and thirteen letter-books (1845-1890) of John McRae, a railroad and business man of Camden, South Carolina.

The *Life of John Albert Johnson, three times Governor of Minnesota*, by Frank A. Day and Theodore M. Knappen (Chicago, Forbes and Company, pp. 427), is the story of a career possessing unusual interest, told by warm admirers of the man. An appendix (something more than a third of the volume) contains addresses and other writings of Governor Johnson.

Mr. J. Van der Zee's article, "Proposed Constitutional Amendments in Iowa, 1857-1909", which appears in the *Iowa Journal of History and Politics* for April, is an instructive chapter in state constitutional history. Chief among the proposed amendments in the period treated are those relating to the jury, the liquor problem, the suffrage, and the initiative and referendum, but there is a striking variety of other propositions. More than fifty pages of this issue of the *Journal* are occupied with documents relating to a controversy waged by the secretary of the territory, W. B. Conway, with the council and with the governor in 1838 and 1839.

The principal article in the January number of the *Annals of Iowa* is Professor F. I. Herriott's paper on "The Republican Presidential Preliminaries in Iowa, 1859-1860". "The Lyons and Iowa Central Railroad" is an account by Ruth Irish Preston of one of the earliest railroad projects in Iowa, with which the writer's father, C. W. Irish, was connected.

The Herald Printing Company of Grand Forks, North Dakota, have brought out, in two volumes, a *History of Red River Valley*, by various writers.

In his volume *Ingalls of Kansas: a Character Study* (Topeka, published by the author) Mr. W. E. Connelley aims to present brief studies of Senator Ingalls in his home life, in his attitude toward religion, and in his achievements in literature, oratory, and politics.

A History of Idaho (pp. 395), by John Hailey, has been published in Boise by the Syms-Yorke Company.

The California Promotion Committee have brought out a volume containing *The March of Portolá and the Discovery of San Francisco* (1769-1770), by Z. S. Eldredge, and *The Log of the San Carlos*, together with a number of documents relating to the maritime expedition to San Francisco (1775), translated and annotated by E. J. Molera.

The Bibliophile Society of Boston has privately printed the late John Fiske's oration *The Discovery of the Columbia River and the Whitman Controversy*.

The *Quarterly of the Oregon Historical Society* prints in the issue for December, 1909, Peter Skene Ogden's journal of his second expedition to the Snake country, November 21, 1825, to July 17, 1826. Mr. T. C. Elliott furnishes an introduction and editorial notes. Professor F. G. Young's second paper on "The Financial History of the State of Oregon" is concerned with Oregon's public domain.

The First Great Canadian: the Story of Pierre Le Moyne, Sieur D'Iberville, by C. B. Reed, has been brought out by A. C. McClurg and Company. The volume contains illustrations, maps, a bibliography, and an index.

Labrador: its Discovery, Exploration, and Development, by W. G. Gosling (London, Rivers), contains a number of maps old and new besides many other illustrations.

It is announced that the Salem Press Company will shortly publish a *History of Kings County, Nova Scotia*, by A. W. H. Eaton. A feature of the book is a history of the New England settlers who came in after the expulsion of the French.

In the new series of *Publications of the Canadian Archives*, no. 3 is the Journal of Larocque from the Assiniboine to the Yellowstone, 1805 (pp. 82), while no. 4 is Alexander H. Murray's *Journal of the Yukon, 1847-1848*. Both are edited, with notes, by Mr. Lawrence J. Burpee.

A. Melrose (London) has published *The Riders of the Plains: a Record of the Royal North-West Mounted Police of Canada, 1873-1910*, by A. L. Haydon. The subject is one of extraordinary interest.

La Colombie Britannique: Étude sur la Colonisation au Canada, by Albert Métin, has been brought out in Paris by Colin.

Dr. Andrew S. Draper's *The Rescue of Cuba* has been enlarged by discussions of events and problems of the last ten years, not only in Cuba but also in Porto Rico and the Philippines (Silver, Burdett, and Company).

The Macmillan Company announce for publication in the early summer *The History of Mexico*, by Justo Sierra, secretary of education in the Republic of Mexico, and H. N. Branch, professor in the National Preparatory School.

With Walker in Nicaragua: or Reminiscences of an Officer of the American Phalanx (Columbia, Missouri, E. W. Stephens Publishing Company, pp. 181) is by J. C. Jamison, who was a captain in Walker's Nicaraguan army. The story of Walker's career in Nicaragua, principally as it came under the observation of Captain Jamison, is told in a simple but interesting manner.

F. Loraine Petre's *Simon Bolívar, "El Libertador"*, has come from the press (London, John Lane).

Historia de la Revolución Federal en Venezuela (Caracas, 1909, pp. 549) is by Dr. Lisandro Alvarado and covers the period 1858-1863.

The house of Maucci, Barcelona, has published a two-volume work, *Galería de Retratos de los Gobernadores y Virreyes del Perú, 1582-1824*, and *Galería de Retratos de los Gobernantes del Perú Independiente, 1821-1871*. The text of the biographies is by Señor J. A. de Lavalle.

A Sketch of the British Occupation of Buenos Aires and the Revolt of the Spanish Colonies in South America in the Early Part of the Nineteenth Century is the title of a pamphlet of forty-six pages (London, Rees), by Colonel A. J. Godley of the British army. The paper was in part originally read as an address before the Aldershot Military Society.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: E. Buron, *Un Prophète de la Révolution Américaine* (Revue Historique, March-April); Gaillard Hunt, *The History of the Department of State*, V. (American Journal of International Law, April); Edwin D. Mead, *Proposed Removal of the Academy of Geneva to America in 1794* (Educational Review, April); W. L. Fleming, *Historic Attempts to solve the Race Problem in America by Deportation* (Journal of American History, vol. IV., no. 2); Gideon Welles, *A Diary of the Reconstruction Period*, III., IV. (Atlantic, April, May); C. M. Harvey, *On the Road to Oregon* (*ibid.*, May); W. G. Brown, *The South in National Politics* (South Atlantic Quarterly, April); W. K. Boyd, *The Antecedents of the North Carolina Convention of 1835* (*ibid.*); W. L. Fleming, *Ex-Slave Pension Frauds* (*ibid.*); Major J. C. White, *A Review of the Services of the Regular Army during the Civil War*, cont. (Journal of the Military Service Institution, January to June); Major G. W. Redway, *McClellan's Campaign on the Yorktown Peninsula* (United Service Magazine, May); Jerónimo Bécker, *El Reconocimiento por España de la República Argentina* (La España Moderna, March, April); P. Ballesteros, *Los Estados Unidos y los Asuntos Extracontinentales de la América Latina* (*ibid.*, April); Jerónimo Bécker, *Relaciones Comerciales con la Argentina* (*ibid.*, May); M. Gutiérrez, *Noticia de los Manuscritos Escurialenses relativos á la Historia y Costumbres de los Indios Americanos*, cont. (La Ciudad de Dios, April 5, 20).

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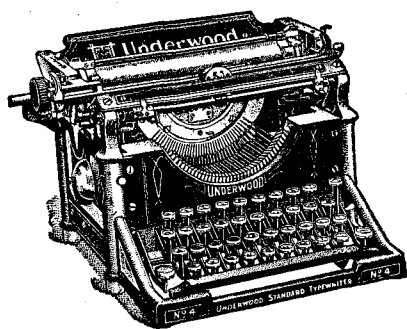
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